Exclusive! Inside Franco Spain

NATIONAL
GUARDIAN
the progressive newsweekly

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Franco runs army--Church runs Franco

First of a series of articles by our Paris correspondent, assigned by GUARDIAN to write an on-the-spot picture of the dictatorship whose entry into the "western family of nations" is now being pushed in the UN.

By Stanley Karnow

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BURGOS, Spain

A CAREFULLY anonymous Spanish Republican, having once spent a couple of sleepless nights in the Pell Street Palace Hotel, just two steps off the Bowery, speaks the idiom with a tangy fluency. He puts the accents in the wrong places, but we understand each other, and that's all that matters.

We are sitting on the terrace of a cafe that rambles all over the sidewalk of the Avenida del Generalisimo Franco, drinking Malaga wine—which should be sipped—and looking at the soldiers.

"The poor slobs," mutters Enrique.

It is Good Friday and they are being marched, 300 at a time, into one of the town's six churches, ordered to kneel and pray, and then given the day off.

THIN CATTLE. There are soldiers everywhere. In groups of three or four, thin, sallow boys with sunken cheeks wander aimlessly under the hot afternoon sun, sweating ferociously in ankle-length overcoats and white gloves. It's worse than Greensboro, North Carolina, on a Saturday night in 1943.

"The Spanish Army?" Enrique shrugs. "It's a racket."

An officer struts smartly by, black boots clacking the pavement, spurs jingling, sword dangling, looking as if he just stepped out of the Madison Square Garden Horse Show. He looks fiercely at the soldiers who salute listlessly and stroll on.

"A son of a ——," Enrique coins a phrase.

GENERALS MUST LIVE. Outside of this small garrison town, which served Franco as headquarters and capital during the three years of the Civil War, most of the Spanish Army consists of big round numbers on little pieces of paper. That is to say, it's an army which isn't there.

Franco's perpetual boast that 1,000,000 Spaniards would fight "if the advance of the communist hordes should pass through Berlin" evoked laughter from one Spaniard, who said: "I know of a couple of regiments which have never counted more than 25 men present.

"There are more generals than privates in the Spanish Army," he continued, explaining that in most of Franco's 16 divisions the men are unofficially sent home so that the officers can pocket the subsistence funds.

BURLESQUE SHOW. The few Spaniards who can bring themselves around to positive praise of Franco do so by ringing out the old, familiar, "He kept us out of war." But Spain's neutrality during World War II was a matter of necessity. Franco would have liked to repay his debt to Hitler and Mussolini, but his army—which hasn't fought a European war for 200 years—was totally unfit.

Today, the 500,000 men who proclaim allegiance to **El Jefe** are nothing more than an auxiliary police force, on hand against the eventuality of another Spanish civil war.

Their military equipment is largely German and Italian leftovers, too stale for any large-scale modern use. The air force includes about 100,000 daredevils with snappy dress uniforms who risk death each time they take up Franco's 900 flying coffins for the benefit of the newsreel cameras.

Nothing makes Spanish military men happier, from War Minister General Fidel Arrondo down to the most pompous little second lieutenant, than to hear talk that the U. S. is considering Spain as a bastion against the ethereal Soviet invasion of Western Europe.

Like everything else in Spain, from the Catholic Church to the government sponsored and oppressed trade unions, the army is a business, and the more money the better—dollars, if possible.

(Continued on Page 12)

In the Barriochino, the slums of Barcelona, a pathetic little boy with a gangrenous foot and a grownup's coat looks at the camera. In the background his hungry sister sits against a wall in the dreary squalor that contrasts so strikingly with the indecent high-living by Franco's hangers-on. This is the Spain Franco doesn't want you to know about.

Beginning in this issue:

A Profile of Trenton

where 6 Negroes are being railroaded to death in the chair

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THE MAILBAG

The world's most loyal readers

SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF.

Somewhat awed at your achievement in cutting rates while continuing to improve, I hardly feel like accepting what amounts to a refund of $2 when that same $2 would now get the GUARDIAN into the hands of eight people for ten weeks each.

So here's my list, and $2. I shall go on charging myself the old rate, and apply the difference to broaden the base of the GUARDIAN subscription list. I feel that this is one of the few ways in which one person with very little money or time can now work effectively towards peace—giving the GUARDIAN.

Miles Bennett

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ALP clubs, note

ITHACA, N.Y.

Our local ALP club, through Anna Chaffin, is pushing samples and subscriptions. We welcome the recent price reduction. **Joe Levinger**

•

. . . for peace

SAN JOSE, CALIF.

Maybe what this country needs is a pattern for **a good one-man fight for peace.** There must be many a man and woman loaded down with responsibilities but who would like to do **something** to slow down the war-stampede.

Giving the GUARDIAN is the best answer I've seen yet, and the new low rate puts it out in front as an answer to the question—"What can **I** do about it?"

I can't help thinking what a powerful thing it would be if **every** subscriber who feels a surge of appreciation for the price-cut would toss it right back with gift subscriptions. Here's mine, anyway. This time I am giving to people I do not know, names chosen at random from the telephone book. Might this be a good way to reach a new and more miscellaneous audience? **William Scott**

•

Four and eight

NEW YORK, N.Y.

GUARDIAN can be one of the most potent forces for peace in this country. It is immensely inspiring to see such a paper.

Where are the sections or columns devoted to movies, radio, television, sports, religion, books and etc? There are plenty of people who will not keep reading GUARDIAN's 12 pages of political news—wonderful and necessary as they are.

Thousands more could be considered potential readers and subscribers if the above features were added. Is it not better for a great many to read eight pages of political news and four pages of features than for a smaller number to read 12 pages of political news?

Mark Martin

This issue carries news of television, reviews of four books and capsule movie reviews. We carry religious news, not departmentalized, but as it fits in with the news. We carry a radio column at least twice a month, an occasional sports article. We too want to increase our leisure section, and have some fine plans. But twelve pages are the limit right now, and there's so much to say. We'd like to hear from other readers on this. Ed.

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Robeson and you

NEW YORK, N.Y.

Thank you for the text of Paul Robeson's speech at the Paris Peace Conference and congratulations.

GUARDIAN was the first to bring news of the infamous Trenton Six frame-up to Europe. Now it is the first to bring to America a true version of Robeson's historic speech which has created such consternation within the ranks of reaction in America. Another scoop for you.

As the text shows, Robeson said in effect to Negro Americans: keep your eyes on the ball. Don't be diverted or maneuvered away from the main struggle for your emancipation by the hysterical cries about the enemy from afar. The enemy is here within the confines of America.

And "at this hour the American Negroes know full well that their fight for freedom is also for the freedom of white peoples."

The rulers of America did not want the significance of these simple words to be understood by Negro or white Americans. Distortion and confusion were therefore in order.

History offers Negro America the possibility of playing a role far transcending its strength in numbers.

It is this that the Walter Whites and Bethunes miss in the words of Paul Robeson or that they lack the insight and knowledge to comprehend. It is profoundly simple, but profound. **William L. Patterson**
Executive Secretary, Civil Rights Congress

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Salud!

SAN MIGUEL ALLENDE, MEX.

Many of us who are student veterans find that the hard-hitting GUARDIAN is our best source of information on the basic problems that beset the country from which we are voluntary expatriates. Were it not for your weekly, we would scarcely know that such issues as peace were being discussed today by the people of the United States and those of all other countries.

John G. Roberts

•

Proof of the pudding

SCAPPOOSE, ORE.

FLASH! NANKING TAKEN. FIRST COMMUNIST SQUAD ARRIVES IN AN AMERICAN JEEP.

Who said that the Truman Doctrine wouldn't work? ?

Vincent Noga

•

Whole wheat

NEW YORK, N.Y.

The article, "Leave Your Colon Alone," in last week's issue was a humdinger. How about "accentuating the positive?"

Years ago a great biologist told me that in his European childhood he ground the wheat for his mother's baking, and that for nutrition and doing away with the need for laxatives the use of whole wheat would save millions for the American people.

Most of the whole wheat bread sold in the stores is a base imitation, poor in taste and in peristaltic action. A really good whole wheat loaf costs 23c.

There is no reason to pay such a premium if you bake your own whole wheat bread, but real whole wheat flour can now only be bought at expensive so-called Health Food stores. Before World War I one of the big mail-order houses sold small electric mills for $5; the housewife could buy wheat by the bushel as feed stores were still in existence, and grind the flour when needed. This did away with the spoilage of whole wheat flour.

If we could get these home mills now it would be a great boon. But anyway it's worth taking trouble to get good whole wheat flour for bread, pies, cookies and cakes. It has every argument in its favor as against white flour, and will cure or prevent most cases of constipation. **Charlotte Parks**

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It won't be Zoya

KNOXVILLE, TENN.

When I get my GUARDIAN I drop everything to read it. This week I came to the page with Zoya's picture and my heart almost stopped. She asked her mother not to cry, but who could help but cry?

If we are fools enough to let them put another war over on us, then it won't be Zoya. It will be you, me, your sons and daughters and mine. Yours for peace and security.

Florence Reece

GUARDIAN welcomes them

PROGRESSIVE American journalism takes on a mighty growth today (May 16) with the birth of two new publications, **Monthly Review** and **Daily Compass.**

In the first issue of the "independent socialist magazine" **Monthly Review** (66 Barrow St., New York; $3 a year), the world-famous scientist Albert Einstein explains his conviction that only the establishment of a socialist economy can eliminate the evils of capitalism. **Review's** editors are Leo Huberman, former labor editor of **PM** and author of **Man's Worldly Goods,** and Paul M. Sweezy, for more than ten years a Harvard economics teacher.

Daily Compass, a new morning newspaper in New York selling for 10c, is published and edited by T. O. Thackrey (former publisher of the **New York Post**), and includes I. F. Stone, Albert Deutsch, Tom O'Connor and Stanley Woodward as contributors. Sydney Penner, for many years with the **New York Post,** will be news editor. The first day's run will be 150,000 copies.

Jennings Perry

WINDFALL

I KEEP sitting here wondering what we are going to do with the quarter-billion dollars we were to have spent on the Berlin airlift next year. This is, of course, as good as money found. We had already written it off to back up General Clay's doughty pledge to keep the lift going forever if necessary. It was earmarked for "defense." We had considered it expendable and had kissed it goodbye.

Now suddenly it is on the loose again, back in the public domain, available for other purposes, and we shall have to look sharp to save it from fresh trouble. Gen. Claire Chennault has not hesitated to put in one bid for it. For the cost of the airlift for one year we can, this other doughty soldier assures us, revive Chiang Kai-shek. . . .

A MORE serious threat to our quarter-billion saving rises, however, from another quarter—from the Truman Administration's need to pick up a quick and easy $1,130,000,000 for guns for Western European nations sidling towards us in the Atlantic Pact. It would help the Pact tremendously in Congress if it be shown that, after all, our outlay for this armament can be brought within the boundary of our military budget by economics.

The chances are the Pact will find its feet stuck in the Senate if it means new taxes. On the other hand it may be made to seem to cost us almost nothing if we add up the savings we have made (1) by foregoing a 70-unit air force, (2) by not building the carrier U.S.A. and now (3) by leaving off the Berlin airlift. What could penny-pinching solons say to that?

I HAD another idea sitting here. It had occurred to me, as one stockholder in this nation, that we might make a better salvage of the wealth we'd set aside to keep the airlift going. We've had our money's worth in this adventure. We've shown what we can do with aviation when we fail at negotiation. We've trained our pilots and tested our planes with tonnage which could been bomb-loads, and saved General Clay's face—and charged it all off to experience. Now we can afford to try something else.

With the quarter-billion dollars we will not have to spend flying coal and potatoes into Berlin during the coming year we first could set up a foundation for the perpetuation of Dr. Philip C. Jessup, in order that we need not again have to spend millions for flying in coal and potatoes for want of even one functionary in our State Department who can speak simple Russian. One or two millions for this.

We could, and perhaps should, settle a million each on the families of the 32 American airmen who lost their lives in the ten-month war of nerves over whether the Westmark or the Eastmark should be the medium of exchange between a Berliner hausfrau and her baker. This with the nation's apologies.

THERE would remain in our savings account enough funds to wipe out the slums in Washington, St. Louis, San Antonio and Los Angeles . . . or to build and endow hospitals in a hundred American towns . . . or to control the Cumberland River with dams and power-wheels.

I say we could afford these things now, which are good and would enrich us, and not miss it, since we were prepared to provide the quarter-billion to continue a costly exhibition into which we need not have stumbled in the first place, which could have been terminated by rational discussion at any time, and leaves the Berlin situation precisely where it was to begin with.

We have the windfall—momentarily. We may, if we are spry enough, spread it at home in goods—before it can be sent abroad as guns.

A battle is brewing!

How labor's rank-and-file was sold out by leaders

By John T. McManus

AMERICAN labor backed the Truman ticket in 1948 mainly to win repeal of the Taft-Hartley Law. The rank and file has been sold out, with the knowledge and cooperation of the national CIO leadership and elements in the top leadership of AFL and the railway brotherhoods.

With disclosure of this sellout a rip-roaring battle is brewing within the labor movement—particularly in the CIO, whose national executive board meets this week in Washington.

It was Rep. Vito Marcantonio (ALP-N.Y.) who finally pulled aside the curtain. His bill for outright repeal of Taft-Hartley and re-enactment of the Wagner Act was shunted aside both by labor and the Administration in favor of a series of compromises. By parliamentary maneuvers he headed off the Wood bill, tougher than Taft-Hartley. The impasse of May 3-4 leaves labor still under Taft-Hartley as it moves into negotiation for wage increases, termination of speed-up and a halt to growing unemployment.

THE REAL STORY. Here are some of the facts behind Marcantonio's sellout indictment:

When labor leaders lined up labor's voting strength behind Truman in 1948, they—including CIO's Philip Murray—knew that outright Taft-Hartley repeal wasn't the Administration's program.

Certain features were to be continued. This was reaffirmed in the 81st Congress' opening session by Rep. Lesinski, (D-Mich.), chairman of the House Labor Committee and co-author of the Administration's labor bill. "There is no sense trying to go back to the Wagner Act," Lesinski said on Jan. 3. "We will have to write an entirely new labor law."

More than four months later, when Marcantonio presented his bill for Taft-Hartley repeal, leading Truman Democrats expounded this position more fully. In debate on April 29 they declared the Democratic platform didn't promise outright repeal, but rather the enactment of labor controls repeatedly called for by the President since 1946.

HE SAID SOLID. It was an open declaration of position, openly made on the House floor. Instead of challenging it, CIO President Philip Murray made this statement: "The CIO stands solidly with President Truman and the Administration in support of the Thomas-Lesinski bill."

Two days before Murray issued that statement, CIO and AFL officials had attended a secret all-night meeting, at which agreement was reached with Administration congressmen on five crippling amendments to the Thomas-Lesinski bill. The bill eventually came to the House floor as a "compromise" measure offered by Rep. Sims (D-S.C.).

AFL leaders and a Texas politician, Robert Tucker, disclosed the facts of this meeting, which the CIO later tried to deny. Actually the Sims bill was written by Asst. Sec. of Labor John Gibson—a CIO member—with the help of CIO general counsel Arthur Goldberg.

Eventually AFL President William Green, A. F. Whitney of the railway brotherhoods and the United Mine Workers dissociated themselves from the Administration's amendments in public statements. From CIO's Philip Murray came no further statement.

DOUBLE LOBBY. Voting on the House floor on the Sims rewrite of the Thomas-Lesinski bill was complicated: congressmen found themselves subject to two lobby appeals from labor.

On one hand were the railroad workers, John L. Lewis' miners and several CIO unions (including United Electrical Workers, Mine Mill, and Tobacco and Agricultural Workers) arguing against the Sims bill and for outright repeal. On the other were representatives of Steel, Textile and Auto, along with two national CIO officials, arguing for the Sims bill.

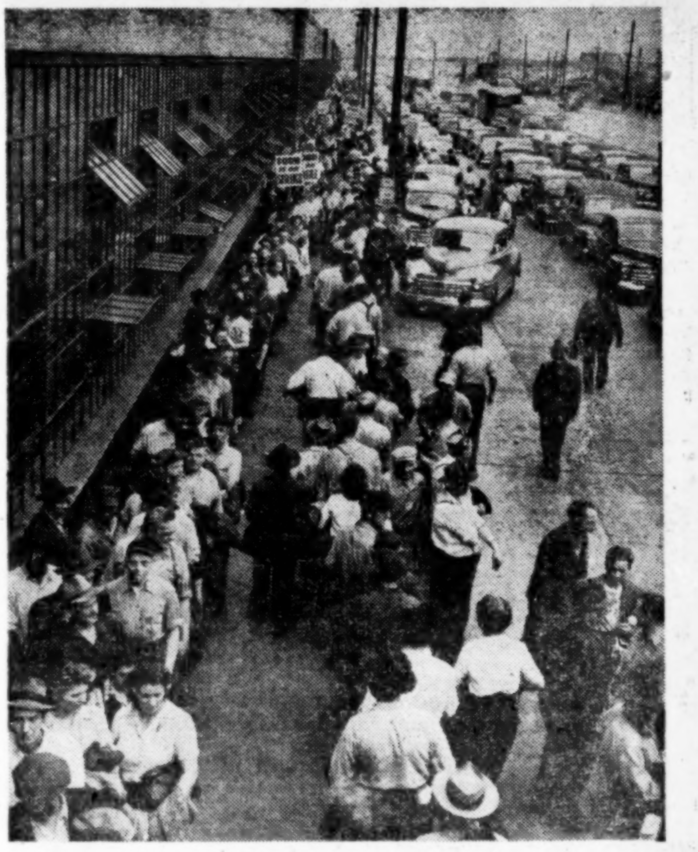
AFL's legislative representative, Lew Hines, said he had "sat the fight out in the gallery because the AFL position was unclear." UMW had the experience of persuading several congressmen to oppose the Sims bill, only to see them change their votes later under pressure from Murray's steel-worker lobbyists.

STILL THE LAW. National CIO lobbying tactics, which now frown on rank-and-file mass delegations and other "old-fashioned" approaches, actually resulted in preventing rank and file sentiment from reaching members of Congress.

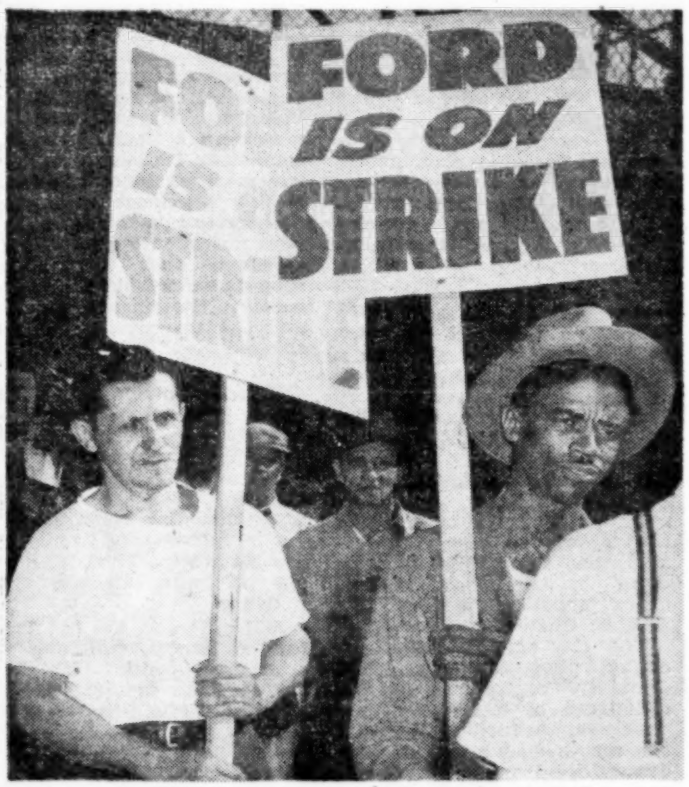
As long ago as last February Rep. Kelley (D-Pa.), a member of the House Labor Committee and a staunch advocate of outright Taft-Hartley repeal, wrote labor leaders that "a discouraging factor has been the apparent lack of interest [in outright repeal] from all leading labor organizations with the exception of the United Mine Workers."

Both the Administration and top labor leadership have surrendered. The result is that the Taft-Hartley law remains on the books with not even a compromise "repeal" in the offing.

What are the chances now of defeating Taft-Hartley and reenacting an uncrippled Wagner Act? Many labor leaders, who originally went along with CIO, AFL and railway brotherhood assurances that "the Administration will deliver," see the only hope in a return to old-fashioned rank-and-file mass pressure tactics—with no double-dealing by top leadership behind the scenes.



As far as the eye can see, the CIO United Auto workers picket the huge Ford River Rouge plant. This rank-and-file strike, which the UAW leaders were forced to support, is indicative of labor's dissatisfaction with the leadership it has been getting.



They mean business and the picket line is solid. A closeup of the line at Dearborn, Mich. More than 90,000 workers are out at Ford plants from coast to coast.

'UE will fight!'—a union takes off the gloves

ON April 24, the week of the collapse of the Truman Administration's Taft-Hartley compromise attempts, the general executive board of the United Electrical Workers, third largest CIO union, challenged CIO policies and tactics in the union's official organ, **UE News**.

Under the bold headline "The CIO Must Fight for the People," it attacked "labor 'statesmen'" for "using the cry of 'communist' and 'traitor' to disunite, confuse and divert the attention of membership from their subservience to the foreign and domestic policies of the Administration, and their failure to provide effective leadership in the fight for the needs of the people.

"For speaking plainly of these facts this Union will be viciously assailed," the statement acknowledged. It presented a detailed arraignment of top CIO "officialdom," which had "subordinated the interests of the membership of their unions . . . to the desires of American big business to run the world. . . ."

COSTLY RAIDS. The statement cited CIO leadership attempts to wipe out two unions—Farm Equipment and Wholesale and Retail Workers—and to impose administrators over the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers.

Mentioning him only by his CIO title, the statement accused CIO secretary-treasurer James B. Carey, a onetime UE official, of "traveling about the country organizing disruption in the UE." It said that Carey "was recently exposed as having sought the help of the General Electric Company to further his program of disruption."

ROAD TO LIMBO. "All of this has injured the interests of the membership of CIO. All of this has made almost impossible a united fight of labor to organize the unorganized for wage increases and against layoffs. It has placed in jeopardy the entire legislative program the people voted for last fall. It will, if permitted to continue, lead to the destruction of CIO."

Declaring finally that "the UE is determined to do its part to return the CIO to its original policies," the union's executive board announced future UE policy:

FIGHT. The union would fight against arbitrary abolition of CIO unions and all efforts to infringe on autonomous rights of CIO affiliates; against "red-baiting, raiding and disruption of CIO unions carried on by CIO officials"; for "democratic rank-and-file unionism based on the interests of the membership and free from outside interference from government, employers, political parties, religious groups or any other source"; "for the right of every CIO Union to determine the policies that best serve the interests of its members"; "for governmental policies, both domestic and foreign, that serve the needs and interest of the people instead of those who exploit and oppress them"; and finally, "for world peace, which can be achieved if honestly sought on the basis of a better standard of living for the people of our own and other countries."

Following its executive board statement of April 24, this week's **UE News** stated editorially that "CIO leadership offered no resistance to the Administration sellout on Taft-Hartley. Instead the CIO leadership's political policy was expressed by 'yes-ing' every Administration retreat and finding excuses for them, by failing to put up a real fight for T-H repeal and by doing their best to exclude the membership of CIO unions from the fight for repeal."

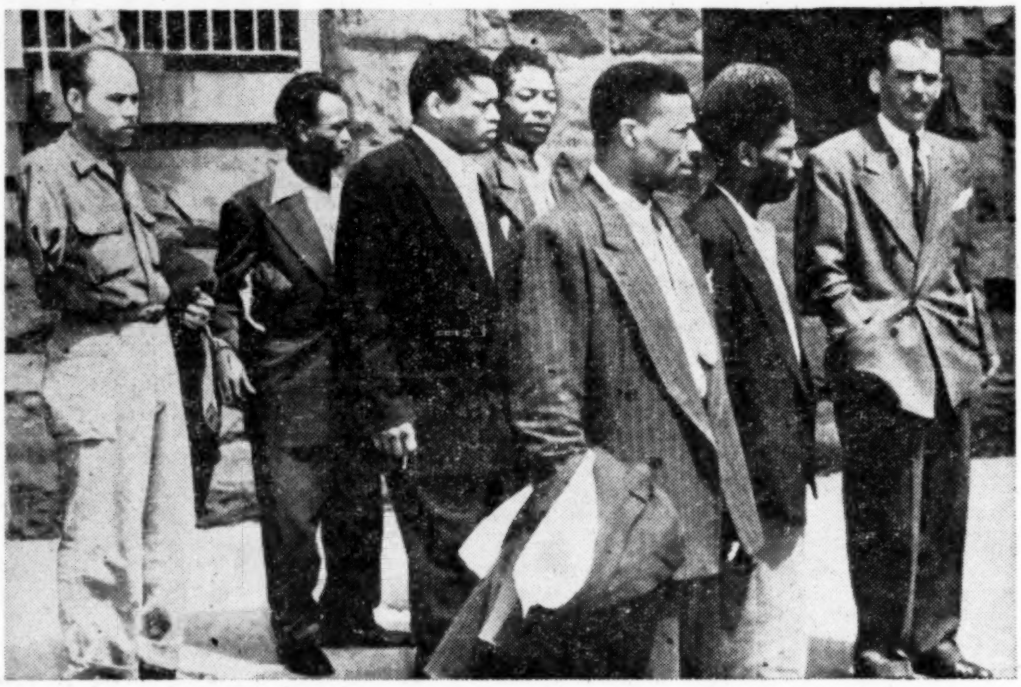
STOP IT! The editorial called for "overwhelming pressure on Congress" by union rank and file and the people generally to "stop the sell-out of the people's interests."

Profile of a city

Trenton: It wears the hood of local fascism

Trenton, N.J., has become infamous around the world as a place where socially defrauded Negroes can be railroaded to the death-house to bolster an office-happy administration. GUARDIAN presents a three-part profile of the city (of which this is part one) to answer the questions: How does such a city tick, and how does it get that way?

By Joan Terrall and William A. Reuben



It was Aug. 7, 1948. The Trenton Six had been convicted and sentenced. Then they were taken from Mercer County jail (above) to the death house at Trenton. L. to r.: James Thorpe, Collis English, John MacKenzie, Horace Wilson, McKinley Forrest, Ralph Cooper. Extreme right, a sheriff's deputy.

SINCE small-city politicians were first exposed by muckrakers and lampooned by cartoonists, they have become a symbol of graft and chicanery. Though time and again good-government campaigns have smashed their machines, the type is still as familiar as a circus clown.

Today they walk with a new swagger. The hysteria of the times provides politicians with ready-made weapons to flatten opposition and distract public attention. Red-baiting, strike-breaking, terror against Negroes conceal municipal corruption as readily as they conceal the drive toward war.

In city after city shocking events have exposed the shocking truth. The men who would run our local governments under fascism, who would organize American pogroms, who would rip freedom and equality from the American constitution, are already in office.

Nowhere is this more striking than in Trenton, N.J. Except for the patriotic phrases that occasionally decorate their oratory, the city fathers of this 270-year-old American town have abandoned even a facade of democracy.

HE IS COZY. Mayor Donal Connolly of Trenton, one-time organizer for Father Coughlin's Christian Front, one-time active American Firster, pursues his duties with vast self-confidence and contempt for criticism. He is armed with the expensively tailored arrogance of a man who has pulled strings to arrive at a cozy job.

Two years ago Mayor Connolly's aplomb was slightly jarred by rumors of a bribery scandal dating back to his chairmanship of the N.J. Beauty Culture Control Board. But threats to his tenure could seemingly be handled at slight cost. Immediately after one grand jury failed to indict him, the son of the jury foreman was given a city job.

In October 1947, when a second grand jury brought in an indictment, Connolly launched a red scare against a scheduled Civil Rights Congress meeting at which Gerhart Eisler was to speak. The Trenton **Times** and the **Trentonian** enthusiastically joined the hue and cry. Trenton's city commissioners passed a resolution forbidding the meeting.

Connolly had the local Communist Party chairman thrown out of city hall with photographers recording the scene, after pronouncing flatly: "We do not give Communists the right to be heard here." When sponsors of the meeting returned with a court order against police interference, Connolly tore it up.

"It will be a pleasure to throw your kind out of city hall at any time," he said.

THAT IDLE CHAIR. Trenton's police chief announced that he would arrest anyone who tried to enter the meeting hall; when the hour approached it was surrounded by a lynch-minded mob of about 5,000, many of them armed. News of this "spontaneous" demonstration was featured prominently in the nation's news reports next day. Mayor Connolly's indictment had vanished into the obscurity of yesterday's headlines.

By the time the bribery case came to trial in April 1948, Connolly's police department had stirred up a still more sensational crime hunt which threatened the safety of every Negro in Trenton and resulted in a murder frame-up of six innocent men. A 73-year-old junk dealer had been murdered in broad daylight in his shop near a busy traffic corner, and the Trenton **Times** editorialized that something must be done "by one means or another" about New Jersey's Idle Electric Chair.

The city administration accepted that challenge. But Connolly, confronted in the courtroom by a fellow defendant who testified to the gifts the mayor had received from beauty operators, admitted "irregularities" and was acquitted. The jury foreman, previously manager of a Trenton flour company, landed a $7,000 sinecure as school grounds and building supervisor.

THROW 'EM OUT! A politician as dapper as Connolly but older and more experienced, Public Safety Director Andrew Duch, conducted the police department's machine-gun invasion of the Negro district that culminated in the Trenton Six arrests.

As Connolly's predecessor in the mayor's office, Duch acquired a local fame for the regularity with which he threw critics out of city hall. His victims included a former Mercer County judge who quoted the mayor as boasting that he would break a tobacco workers' strike; a strike organizer, attempting to speak against an anti-sound truck ordinance; and a woman reporter who had once been brash enough to note that a Negro veteran's housing site was located "squarely between the city's garbage incinerator and the Pennsylvania RR switchboard."

THEY CAN TAKE IT. When the Trenton Six were brought to trial last summer, the aggressive and ambitious young Republican Prosecutor, Mario Volpe, was not embarrassed for a moment by lack of evidence, conflicting testimony, or other irregularities. Indeed, it was at Volpe's insistence that police files for the day of the murder were not admitted as evidence—though they would have shown considerable discrepancy between the six arrested men and the two or three "light-skinned men" seen leaving the store.

Negroes observing Volpe's savage prosecution of the Trenton Six recalled his mildness and courtesy at an earlier trial, when a white southerner was charged with manslaughter after blowing a Negro's brains out in full view of twenty Negro witnesses. The defendant got off with an eight-year sentence.

And others in the hot Trenton courtroom, watching the systematic precision with which the six men wehe herded toward the Idle Electric Chair, realized how aptly Director of Public Safety Duch had once characterized the city hierarchy's approach to justice. "Well meaning people," he said, "may accuse us of acting like a Gestapo—but we are willing to take their criticisms."

Trenton Six appeal

AFTER 463 days in the death house at Trenton, N.J., the six Negro men charged on extorted and repudiated confessions with the murder of William Horner will have their appeal heard on Monday, May 16, in the New Jersey Supreme Court.

The appeal brief presented by a battery of eminent lawyers contends that the conviction of the Six was not only a gross miscarriage of justice but that the death sentence was illegally pronounced by the judge. The case has aroused protests all over the world, few in the U.S. Last week it was taken up by the **New Republic.**

West Coast wire

Tenney's 'loyalty' test stirs progressives

By Gene Richards

LOS ANGELES

SLUMBERING Sacramento, the ripsnorting "Roaring Camp" of California's rugged Gold Rush days, last week became a testing ground for one of the nation's most all-inclusive thought-control blitzes.

Where once prospectors loaded grub for the hike to Sutter's Mill (and it was a social error to ask a newcomer his full name), state legislators debated loyalty tests for political candidates, public and private employes, union members and lots more.

One of the numerous bills and proposed constitutional amendments would repeal the century-old prohibition against any test for public office but the formal oath of allegiance.

THE FIGHT IS ON. Behind the ideological barricades crouched roly-poly Republican State Sen. Jack B. Tenney, ex-liberal, ex-Democrat and head of the state's un-American investigating apparatus.

Tenney, a veteran Red specialist and ex-musician (he wrote a song called "Mexicali Rose"), had so many bills on the hopper that State Personnel Board secretary John Fisher told a Senate committee the state would have to hire additional persons just for paper work.

Fate of the proposals was still unpredictable, though labor and progressives were fighting vigorously against them.

The Independent Progressive Party put the issue at the top of its list with the call to political action against unemployment and against passage of the Atlantic Pact.

Tenney's loyalty oath program and similar moves under way in other western states were made primary targets of a new drive for 5,000 members announced by Aubrey Grossman, West Coast director of the Civil Rights Congress.

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Bundles of sample issues of the GUARDIAN are available at no cost. If you want sample copies to distribute, simply write to Business Dept., National Guardian, 17 Murray St., New York 7, N.Y.

British rally to 'Six'

By Gordon Schaffer

MANCHESTER, England

(By Cable)

MORE than 5,000 people crammed Bellevue hall here to protest against the frameup of the Trenton Six Unanimously they passed a resolution voicing support for progressives in America fighting this injustice, expressing hope that the sentences would be quashed "in accordance with those principles of freedom and democracy so freely voiced by American spokesmen."

Paul Robeson, who has had a tremendous reception all over Britain, declared that he spoke to Manchester as representative of "the progressive America of Henry Wallace and of the eleven brave Communist leaders on trial because of their devotion to the American working class."

I told the meeting how the NATIONAL GUARDIAN story enabled **Reynolds News** [Schaffer is asst. editor of **Reynolds News** and GUARDIAN British correspondent—Ed.] to tell Britain of the Trenton frameup, and broke through the U.S. press boycott.

WITH THE PEOPLE. On the evening before this great demonstration Robeson was talking and singing to a small group of colonial workers in Manchester's poorest area.

Replying to certain Negroes who are joining the anti-Soviet campaign, Robeson said: "The Soviet Union is the only country where as a Negro I have walked with full human dignity."

ROUNDUP OF THE WEEK'S NEWS

PRESIDENT'S WEEK

Harry's day

ON Mother's Day the President was 65. His physician, Brig. Gen. Wallace H. Graham, said: "He's far younger than his age." Reporters noted that he still rose at 5 a.m. as he had in his boyhood on the farm. (He takes a morning constitutional at the brisk pace of 120 steps a minute, then breakfasts at 7:30.)

He posed for photographers with his birthday cake. To Blair House came gifts, flowers, wires, letters of congratulation—even from congressmen. Then, the holiday over, congressmen took up their cudgels.

One cudgel was unwittingly handed to them by the national chairman of the American Veterans Committee, Gilbert Harrison. He came out of the White House after a chat with the President and told reporters: "He said there were too many Byrds—B-y-r-d-s—in the Congress."

BYRD spells CROW
JIM
R.J.

RIPOSTE. Sen. Harry F. Byrd (D-Va.) made hay. He said: "If the President means he will attempt to purge me from the Senate because I will not accept his dictatorship in matters of legislation, then I will be on hand when the purging starts. I owe my allegiance to my constituency of Virginia."

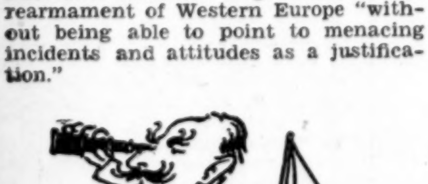
Never was a "dictator" so roughly handled.

The President made more favorable headlines later in the week by reading the Bible with the Chief Rabbi of Israel, Israel Herzog, who beguiled reporters with his eloquence and his soft Irish brogue. (He was Grand Rabbi of Ireland from 1916 to 1936.)

ATLANTIC PACT

Missing: a menace

THE Secretary of State was worried about Congress, too. **U.S. News and World Report** said: "For the first time since World War II, an American Secretary of State is without a crisis on his hands." The magazine pointed out that the Secretary's problem was to persuade Congress to ratify the North Atlantic Pact and authorize large sums for the rearmament of Western Europe "without being able to point to menacing incidents and attitudes as a justification."



In the Senate Foreign Relations Committee Sen. Tom Connally (D-Tex.) was piloting the Pact through its hearings. The bow-tied Senator had an unmistakable flourish. Sen. Arthur V. Watkins (R-Utah) and Sen. Forrest C. Donnell (R-Mo.) objected to it.

HUFFY. Both Republican Senators, isolationist and critical of the Pact, had been invited to sit in on the hearings and question witnesses though neither was a committee member. When the hearings began last month Connally charged that the two had come to "filibuster . . . to impede, delay and obstruct."

They resented that and subsequent chidings. On Monday Watkins had enough. He left the room announcing that he would not be any longer "lectured, humiliated and embarrassed" by the chairman.

After Watkins left, confusion multiplied. Secretary Acheson and Chief of Staff Omar Bradley had indicated rather strongly that the U.S. would be committed to defending the Rhine line. Other Pact signatories were sure that was the whole point of the Pact. Connally and Sen. Arthur Vandenberg (R-Mich.) announced that there was no such commitment in the Pact. (Max Werner said the whole thing was impossible anyway. The German Leningrad-Taganrog defense line, smashed by the Russians, was manned by 200 divisions. The whole U.S. Army presently comprises 16 divisions.)

"PERFECTLY CLEAR." Senator Walter George (D-Ga.) wanted the Senate to be "perfectly clear" that the Pact does not commit the U.S. to defend Europe's colonial possessions outside the Pact area, although the text of the Pact stipulates that it does exactly that.

Connally announced that he would speed hearings to an early and a "favorable report."

Among the witnesses testifying against the Pact were Prof. Henry J. Cadbury of Harvard, speaking for the Friends Committee on National Legislation (Quakers); Prof. Colston Warne of Amherst College for the National Council of the Arts, Sciences and Professions; Richard Morford for the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship; Eugene Dennis for the U.S. Communist Party (his statement was read; he was busy at his trial.) Henry Wallace had testified against the Pact the week before. Socialist leader Norman Thomas spoke for the Pact but put his misgivings on record. Favorable testimony had been heard earlier.

CONGRESS WEEK

Spies all over

SPIES, murder and subversion occupied congressmen last week.

In the hearings on the Mundt-Ferguson bills to harass or destroy organizations marked "subversive" Sen. James Eastland (D-Miss.) made witnesses answer two questions:

"Are you or have you ever been a member of the Communist Party?"

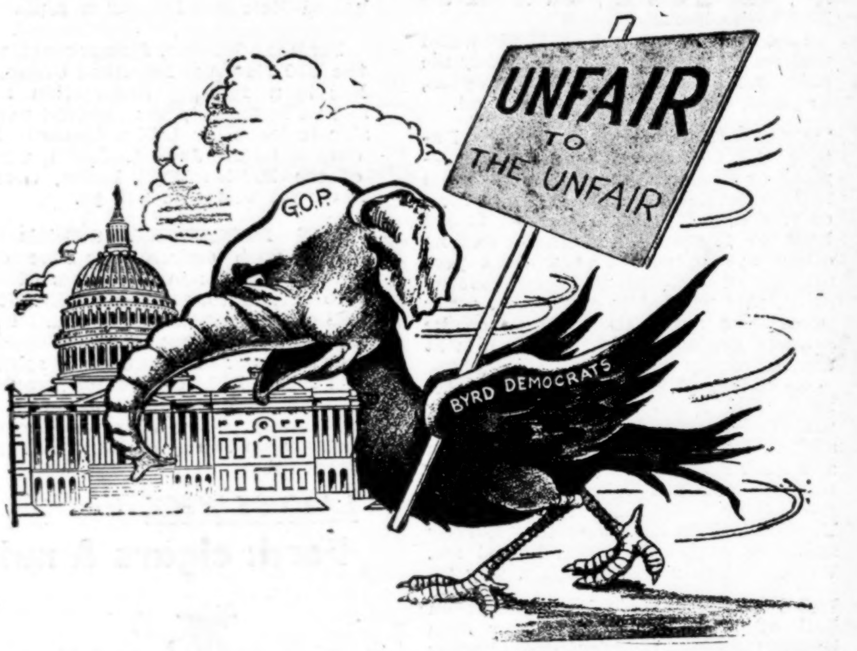
"Are you or have you ever been a member of, or affiliated in any way with any organization that has been cited by any governmental agency as a communist front organization or one substantially controlled, dominated or influenced by Communists?"

A simple "No" answer was not enough. Benjamin C. Sigal, testifying for Americans for Democratic Action and the American Civil Liberties Union, said he was thoroughly anti-communist but opposed the measures as repressive and un-American. According to GUARDIAN's John B. Stone, Eastland heckled and harassed Sigal so badly that he couldn't finish his prepared statement.

HOTBEDS. The National Lawyers Guild found the bills full of "constitutional infirmities" and said their passage "would destroy the very foundations of democratic government in the United States."

In still other hearing rooms, other witnesses testified on the bill by Sen. Pat McCarran (D-Nev.) which would bar progressive foreigners, harass foreign seamen and comb progressive organizations for non-citizens.

A Pole and a Yugoslav who had renounced their respective motherlands testified that the delegations of those countries were hotbeds for red spies. Dr. Joza Vilfan, head Yugoslav delegate to the UN, whose 5th Avenue delegation headquarters was called one of the hotbeds, said: "Absurd."



The Unionist & Public Forum, Iowa

The GOP-Byrd marches South and North, a petty, preening picket. Each bill the Congress does bring forth, he screams, "Hell no, I'll lick it!"

The big stall

No action on labor legislation was in sight in either house of Congress last week. In the Senate the North Atlantic Pact and appropriations bills have been given priority. In the House the subcommittee charged wih preparing labor bills has not yet set a meeting time.

But in both houses compromise was the word for labor legislation. Sen. Elbert Thomas (D-Utah), sponsor of the labor-supported Administration bill bearing his name, told a news conference that a substitute bill by Sen. Taft (R-Ohio) was "a great improvement"; it might serve as the basis for a compromise. Actually the Taft measure retains intact 22 major provisions of the present law, makes only minor changes in the others. It has been denounced by the CIO as an "obvious political maneuver" with the main "purpose of removing Sen. Taft's name from the most unpopular law since Prohibition."

MARCH ON SIMS. In the House, Speaker Sam Rayburn (D-Tex.) announced that the Sims bill, defeated a week ago, will be reintroduced as the Administration's new labor measure. This, apparently, is in keeping with a pledge to Dixiecrats in return for defeating the Woods bill. The Sims measure contains five of the worst Taft-Hartley provisions.

While Congress stalled and the two big labor camps were divided over the Sims bill, the American Labor Party in Brooklyn began a movement it hoped would mushroom: it announced a mass march on Washington to demand that election promises be kept. The ALP predicted 5,000 would go from Brooklyn, hinted that contingents from other localities would be more than welcome.

HOUSE BRIEFS. The House Veterans Affairs Committee approved a bill to give vets a $72-a-month pension at 65 if they are unemployable. Rep. Teague (D-Tex.) deplored the idea of paying this bounty to "perfectly able veterans for just sitting around." Applicants will have to file affidavits that they belong to no "subversive" organizations and are against overthrowing the government.

- The House Banking and Currency Committee by a straight party-line vote of 14 to 7 passed the Administration's housing bill. It would provide 1,050,000 units in seven years. It was expected to face a tough battle on the House floor. The Senate has passed an Administration-approved bill authorizing 810,000 units in six years. A Senate-House conference committee would seek a compromise once the House had acted.

- The bill to raise minimum wages, oft-delayed, was postponed indefinitely in the House. Majority Leader John McCormack (D-Mass.) said he didn't think it would pass in the present anti-labor atmosphere. Some Democratic leaders are trying to whittle the figure down from 75 cents to 60 or 65. Labor asked for a flat dollar an hour.

- House hearings opened on the Administration's Fair Employment Practices bill under the chairmanship of Rep. Adam Clayton Powell (D-N.Y.), and will last at least three weeks. Violent opponents of the measure were among the first witnesses. Rep. Laurie C. Battle (D-Ala.) said passage would mean "pandemonium breaking loose in the South." On Thursday Chairman Powell summoned the heads of the five major railroad unions to answer charges that they barred Negroes, Mexican-Americans and Japanese-Americans from membership.

CIVIL LIBERTIES

Eisler's odyssey

ABOARD the motor ship Batory of the Polish Gdynia-America Line, a few hours out of New York, a little man with round and cheerful face approached the steward. His only baggage was a tooth brush. He announced that he had stowed away. He paid his passage and gave his name: Gerhart Eisler.

For eight years Eisler had tried to leave the U.S. Over his head hung convictions for contempt of Congress and making false statements on his exit

(Continued on following page)

(Continued from preceding page)

application. He was shadowed so persistently and so openly that his attorney, Mrs. Carol King, had to ask the FBI to be less obtrusive.

Last week he was outside the U.S. and under a Polish flag, but on Saturday the ship would dock in Southampton, England. Scotland Yard was alerted.

"UNCIVILIZED." Also aboard the Batory was GUARDIAN's roving correspondent Richard Yaffe. Eisler told him in an interview for CBS (Yaffe is their correspondent too): "I wanted to get back to Germany and there was no other way to get there without permission of the United States government." He wanted to work with other progressive forces there for peace, he said. (A professor's post awaits him at the University of Leipzig.)

He added: "I gave the United States authorities a chance to correct their uncivilized attitude toward my person, to stop using me as a bogeyman and to behave decently. But the authorities did not take the chance I gave them." How did he get away, Yaffe asked. Eisler answered: "Nobody inside or outside the U.S. helped me. Where there's a will there's a way."

WIFE ARRESTED. Eisler was out on bail of $23,000 posted by the Civil Rights Congress. It is forfeited whether or not Eisler is returned to the U.S.

Mrs. King said: "A man of his political experience had no business to do it. I suppose his nerves were affected."

Meanwhile Brunhilde Eisler, his wife, was arrested outside her New York home and taken to Ellis Island. She had been arrested a year ago for overstaying her leave in U.S. Authorities said she had been re-arrested on the original charge and was being detained "for the present."

While Eisler was at sea, others wrestled in their own way with the deportation dragnet thrown out by the Department of Justice.

THE CIRCUIT. Among these is George Nickoloff Zaikov, who engaged in union activities in the Mesabi iron range. After he was blacklisted he started over again and took the name of his native Pirin Mountains in Macedonia. He became George Pirinsky. During the war he rallied his fellow Slavic Americans into the American Slav Congress to help the war effort.

Last week at deportation hearings in New York he faced men who testified that he was a Communist and that Communists advocate overthrow by force and violence. For many of the witnesses their appearance at the deportation hearings was another stop on a circuit that had taken them before committees of Congress, state legislatures and grand juries.

Some go quietly

Three others caught in the dragnet decided to leave voluntarily while their hearings were still in progress. One was John Santo who came to this country from Rumania in 1927, helped organize the Transport Workers Union, served in the U.S. Army throughout the war, was honorably discharged and specially commended by his officers.

Santo's citizenship was denied; the union he helped to found had turned violently right-wing and his job was gone. He was charged with being a Communist and though he denied it, there were only grim days ahead. He will leave voluntarily for Rumania. His wife will follow.

ANOTHER "TOP AGENT." Alexander Stevens, a Communist born in Hungary, was called by the House Committee on Un-American Activities an atom spy and "the top U.S. underground Communist agent," a title conferred on Gerhart Eisler, among others.

Last week the moustached, wavy-haired little man hopped on a plane for Amsterdam en route to Budapest.

Ferdinand Smith, former secretary of the CIO National Maritime Union, who has been fighting deportation as an alien Communist, has received permission to leave the U.S. voluntarily if he does so before June 4. Smith, a native of the British West Indies, does not know yet where he will go.

DIZZY DEPORTERS. Officials concerned with deportations face diplomatic obstacles in the cases of those who refuse to go voluntarily. Russia and other East European countries refuse to accept deportees.

Congress has considered solutions. The Hobbs Bill, for example, would intern all such undeportables in camps indefinitely. Other bills would consign such people to any country that might accept them.

LABOR'S WEEK

Ford: cigars & nuts

ON Tuesday John S. Bugas, lanky Ford vice-president who came from the FBI to "liberalize" personnel policies in the auto empire, was handing cigars to UAW president Walter Reuther and Local 600 president Thomas Thompson.

Mrs. Bugas had just produced a baby. Bugas' "peace offensive" to end the strike against speed-up of 62,000 employees in Ford's River Rouge plant continued to produce nothing.

While Bugas tried to persuade Reuther and Thompson that there was no speed-up, Henry Ford II, dynastic successor to his grandfather's stormy empire, told the pickets by letter that speed-up was "a most unpleasant word." On Thursday Reuther, feeling uncomfortable as leader of a strike shoved in his lap by the rank and file, took off for Pittsburgh to talk things over with CIO president Philip Murray.

LIZZIE: 1949 MODEL. The strikers were militant; the inner-union political situation delicate (with UAW's convention due in July); the stakes in the Bugas-Reuther-Thompson talks multiple. The dividends of auto industrialists, who are worried about future sales prospects, were pitted against the workers' demand for security.

Into Ford's protestations that there was no speed-up, Mayor Orville Hubbard of Dearborn threw a monkeywrench. He wrote to Thompson: "Every nut on nearly every bolt on every one of the city's 18 new Ford cars had to be tightened before the cars were put in service." The city's Superintendent of Motor Transport had been "advised by supervisors and production line workers that men were rushed so fast on the assembly job that they do not have time to tighten up all the nuts and bolts.

"On the first run of the city's new Ford ambulance," the mayor added, "carrying a patient to Ford hospital, the fuel pump fell right off."

CANNIBALISM IS TIRING. In a message of support from the CIO Farm Equipment Union which heartened the strikers, FE regretted it could send nothing to the strike fund. Its treasury was "exhausted fighting off cannibalistic raids in the middle of our wage fight." FE has been the victim of many attempted raids by UAW's right wing leadership.

Open shop murder

A MASSIVE funeral procession wound through the heart of New York's garment center in the beautifu of the morning last Thursday. Behind the casket, 65,000 garment workers, 50 abreast, walked slowly and silently. The garment industry was shut down.

The mourners, members of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union (AFL), were honoring a fellow worker, William Lurye, 38 years old. Lurye, for ten years a presser, recently had left his job to become a temporary organizer in the ILGWU's drive to end open shop practices in the garment industry.

Last Monday he went into a building to talk to workers outside an open shop. He persuaded them to leave. Before he left the building he went to a phone booth in the lobby to make a call. In the booth he was stabbed by thugs who fled. He died the next day.

CLOSE RANKS. To the thousands of union members, many of them veterans of the goon battles of the early days of organizing the union, Lurye's death was a grim signal to tighten the ranks. The union called a four-hour work stoppage during the funeral as a warning to manufacturers.

In Manhattan Center, 4,000 union members gathered for the service; 15,000 more were outside. President David Dubinsky promised action. The union, he said, would not permit "innocent men to be killed, no matter what the Police Department and the District Attorney do or do not do."

The ILGWU has offered a reward of $25,000 for the apprehension of the murderers, believed to have been hired for the job by open shop bosses.

Spotlights

BORING IN AND OUT. Government agents continued to troop in dreary procession to the witness stand in the trial of the eleven Communist leaders. All last week the stand was held by William Cummings, a Negro auto worker who had been boring from within the Communist Party for the FBI for six years. He admitted that he had recruited three of his cousins into the party, then turned their names over to the FBI.

He said that Communist schools taught that "American streets would have to run red with blood" and that Leninist leaders would have to know how "to throw bombs in machinery if necessary, and other things like that."

There were signs that the prosecution was about to run out of witnesses and might soon rest.

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THE BOSS IS OUT. After 32 years the machine of Boss Frank Hague of Jersey City, N.J., crumbled. The voters licked his slate 81,117 to 59,231. Hague was 73 and graceful. He said: "The people wanted it that way, so it's all right with me." The victor and new mayor, John V. Kenny, was only 56 and frank. He said: "If he (Hague) had not thrown me out, I probably still would be a member of the machine. I have to admit it." Nevertheless Jersey City citizens staged a torchlight carnival.

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PEACE TOUR. In the shadow of Maryland's Ober Law, Henry Wallace carried the fight against the Atlantic Pact into Baltimore. The appearance was part of the nationwide lecture tour by Wallace, Sen. Michele Giua, Italian Socialist, and H. Lester Hutchinson, British Labor Party member of Parliament. They had been joined in Minneapolis by Mrs. Paul Robeson. The tour will reach New York's Madison Square Garden May 16. Wallace's two European guests will speak in New Haven May 18 and in Pittsburgh May 20.

Commotion in the

GERMANY

Double dawn

THE modernistic white school building in the sleepy old town of Bonn on the Rhine was crowded early Sunday afternoon, the 4th anniversary of V-E Day. The Bonn Constituent Assembly was gathering to vote final approval of the West German Constitution, product of American prodding and eight month's reluctant labor by West German politicians.

As the afternoon wore on, the p c drifted away. The final vote, 53 t was taken listlessly and to an em gallery. The delegates then voted resurrect the black, red and golc g of the Weimar Republic.

The Constitution breathes the language of freedom and human dignity. But its compromises are so complicated

United Nations specia

Anglo-Ameri arms to buy

By Marcelle Hitschmann

LAKE SUCCESS

PAUL KENNEDY, New York Times correspondent, courageously reported last weekend what had been increasingly obvious to everyone here: that U.S. and British "arm-twisters" were trying to make delegates hostile to Franco Spain change their ground.

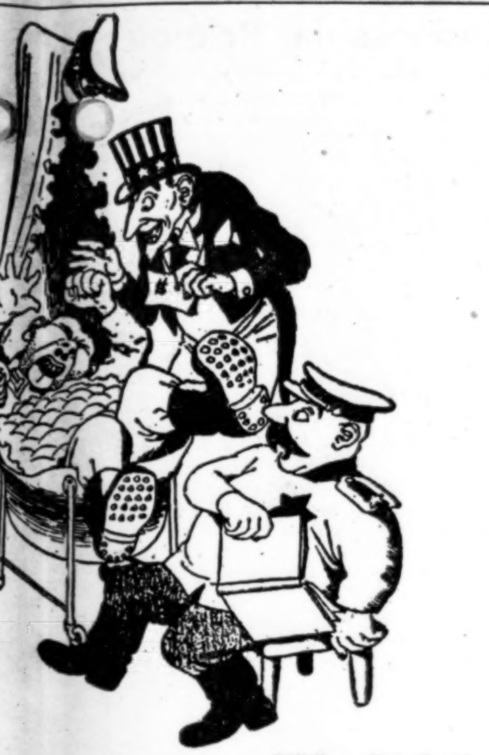
UN corridors were shaken by the explosion; wires carried it overseas. The U.S. delegation denied "arm-twisting" as frantically as Britain's Hector McNeil pooh-poohed the equally obvious Spain-Italian Colonies horse-trading between Latin American and Arab nations.

The Spain issue in UN goes back to December 1946, when the General Assembly passed a resolution for withdrawal of ambassadors to Franco's country. It's known that the material on which the severe preamble to this resolution was based came from the U.S.

In 1947 the picture changed: when Poland sought to reaffirm the 1946 principles, the U.S. voted against it.

STATES OF MIND. Technically the old resolution remained valid last week Dr. Jose Arce of Arge na said the Spanish question "did not exist." Spain, he indicated, was nothing but "a state of mind."

The state of mind of Brazil, Bolivia,



Politiken, Copenhagen

in the German nursery.

that, as CBS correspondent Richard Hottelet commented, "the busiest men in Germany will be the lawyers trying to interpret the Constitution and the politicians trying to change it."

FROM THE MOTHBALLS. It contains curious anachronisms. The Upper House, with wide power over legislation, is not elected but appointed by the states. (Indirect election of U.S. Senators ended 37 years ago.) The President will be elected indirectly by the Lower House and the state electors. (A somewhat similar system was discarded in the U.S. more than 100 years ago.)

Most important of the Constitution's [illegible]47 articles is the last one, which provides that it will become invalid the day a Constitution "adopted in a free decision by the German people comes into force." All West German political leaders emphasized the provisional character of the Constitution. To underline the point they picked Bonn rather than Frankfurt as the capital of the new republic.

In the midst of these chores, Bonn politicians received telegrams from the Socialist Unity Party of East Germany suggesting a joint meeting to prepare a memorandum for the Council of Foreign Ministers. They rejected the proposal, but undaunted East German political leaders promised to continue to "stretch out our hands to establish the widest possible front."

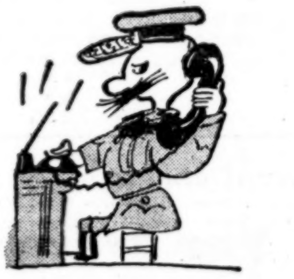
Berlin circus closes

In Berlin, at least, the barriers between East and West Germany were down. Germans took the lifting of the blockade calmly. The streets were quiet and the **New York Times** reported that "there was no sign of jubilation."

But the lifting of the blockade was a press agent's dream. The director of the U.S. press center in Berlin, Theodore Coleman, boasted happily: "It will be the biggest show since the Potsdam Conference."

OUR EASTERN FRONTIER. The hour was a minute past midnight. The moon was bright. Trains and trucks were lined up near the zonal border for a dash into Berlin which one correspondent found "reminiscent of frontier rushes in America's pioneer days." The first train into Berlin was a press special. Freight trains with coal and potatoes brought up the rear.

In Moscow, Paris, London, and Washington, Germany's future, meanwhile, was the subject of weighty debate. Moscow was reported viewing the coming Foreign Ministers' meeting with restrained optimism, and prepared to propose withdrawal of occupation troops and speedy conclusion of a peace treaty with a united Germany.



Daily Worker, London

"Get me the War Office—the Russians have invaded Eastern Europe with ideas!"

In Paris, the Foreign Office denied truculent U.S. statements that the western powers had set a deadline for agreement in the talks with the Russians. In London, Ernest Bevin—just returned from conferences in Berlin with Social Democratic leaders (which greatly disturbed U.S. officials)—predicted: "We may even be called comrades again."

PANTS DOWN. In Washington the State Department was, as the **Wall St. Journal** pointed out, "all confused by the 'success' of its European policy," for that policy which has simply opposed the Soviet Union and divided Europe "is coming apart at the seams."

Not only from Europe, but from important sections of U.S. big business which have watched exports declining steadily for months, were coming demands for a united Europe and resumption of East-West trade.

The State Department attempted to cover up its lack of policy with renewed affirmations of its intention to be tough. It underlined this intention by appointing John Foster Dulles, original author of the divided Germany policy, chief adviser to the U.S. delegation to Paris.

Republican Walter Lippmann warned: "If we do not look out, the Russians will steal our clothes while we are bathing in the pool of our own illusions and miscalculations."

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ecial

ericans are twisting y Franco a halo

Colombia and Peru was shown when they sponsored a resolution for "freedom of action" on diplomatic relations—approved by the Political Committee on May 7. (Peru and Bolivia are among seven Latin American countries which, with Egypt and Syria, have flouted the Assembly's resolution and kept ambassadors in Madrid).

This was the roll call on the "freedom of action" resoution:

FOR (25): Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Colombia, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, Salvador, Greece, Honduras, Iraq, Lebanon, Liberia, Nicaragua, Pakistan, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Saudi Arabia, Siam, Syria, Turkey, South Africa, Venezuela, Yemen.

AGAINST (16): Australia, Byelorussia, Costa Rica, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Guatemala, India, Mexico, New Zealand, Norway, Panama, Poland, Soviet Union, Ukraine, Uruguay, Yugoslávia.

ABSTENTIONS (16): Afghanistan, Belgium, Burma, Canada, Chile, China, Ethiopia, France, Haiti, Iceland, Iran, Luxembourg, Netherlands, Sweden, United Kingdom, United States.

ABSENT: Cuba (whose delegate is anti-Franco while Cuban Government isn't).

THE WORKS. Had the U.S. and Britain come out openly in favor of the pro-Franco resolution, the pressure on their satellite delegates (which certainly was put on) would have been more understandable.

What they did, though, while abstaining themselves, was to try and get the "no" countries to abstain and some abstainers to vote "yes." In a General Assembly plenary session a two-thirds majority of "yeses" is required.

Heaviest pressure was put on Denmark and Norway, only two signatories to the Atlantic Pact who voted "no" in committee. But behind the scenes there was division between anti-Franco members of the U.S. delegation and others who felt that U.S. public opinion was no cause for concern (the press is with few exceptions pro-Franco).

BILLIONS ON FENCES. The U.S. public may not be roused on the issue, but it is certainly confused. Spanish experts at UN believe the western powers want full diplomatic relations with Franco because it would pave the way for uninhibited loans. But after the uproar at Lake Success Secretary of State Acheson called Franco's regime fascist; publicly he took a position on the fence.

Franco's economic position is desperate. He needs $500,000,000 to maintain his hold—$2,000,000,000 to become remotely effective as an Atlantic Pact partner. Western powers are convinced that an overthrow of Franco would create a leftist regime in Spain.

Therefore the repeal of the 1946 resolution and the adoption of a pro-Franco one by the General Assembly is essential to save "democracy."

CHINA

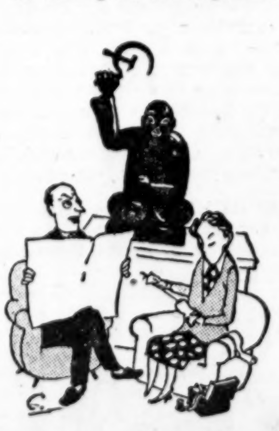
Shanghai idyll

IN Shanghai theft and the black-market sale of silver dollars generally draw jail sentences of from three to five years. In the jails of Shanghai last week ten prisoners under such sentence were taken out of jail. They were loaded aboard jeeps and rushed with sirens screaming to a busy street corner. Police pushed crowds back. The corner was carefully swept with a broom. Five of them were forced to kneel on the well brushed pavement. Men in shirt sleeves put pistols to their heads and shot them, then jumped into jeeps to dash to other execution points.

All day the sirens screamed, the tumbrils sped. The corners were first swept then bloodied. Two transit workers in jail for strike activity were among the victims.

It was terror perpetrated by men who were themselves in terror of the people of Shanghai. But from the people who saw the executions there was no sign of uprising—they waited.

By Friday the People's Armies had swept to within 22 miles of Shanghai. Chen Liang, the Mayor, said that the picket fence around the city was a defense "as strong as Stalingrad's."



Daily Express, London

"I suppose, dear, you haven't noticed anything peculiar about the Chinese bronze figure on the sideboard."

BUSINESS IS BUSINESS. The results of China's victories were felt in the staid Industrial Club of Tokyo. Communist leader Sanzo Nozaka was a guest there last week. Allen Raymond of the **N.Y. Herald Tribune** said it was "much like an appearance of Eugene Dennis at the Union League Club in New York."

He came to share in the founding of the Sino-Japanese Friendship Society. Among his co-founders were some of Japan's most conservative industrialists, bitter antagonists of Nozaka on home grounds. Also to be formed was the Sino-Japanese Trade Promotion Society. Some wanted friendship; some wanted trade. Conservative and radical agreed they went together.

Nozaka said the New China, unlike the old, would be industrialized. Japan could supply the tools and so "we can discourage intervention by outsiders."

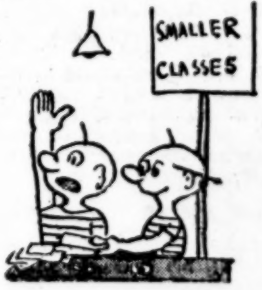
In Washington, Maj. Gen. Frank R. McCoy, U.S. member of the Far Eastern Commission, announced that he would use the veto power to spare Japan all further reparations. To date the U.S. occupation command has transmitted only token payments to the powers that suffered at Japan's hands: China, the Philippines, the Netherlands and Britain. Brig. Gen. Carlos P. Romulo, chief of the Philippine delegation to the UN, said: "After perusing the American statement, my personal feelings, as a Filipino soldier who was in Bataan and Corregidor, can best be described in Americanese: I am flabbergasted!"

UN WEEK

Israel's in

ON April 5, the day after the North Atlantic Pact was signed in Washington, the UN General Assembly convened at Flushing Meadow. The Pact stole the show. UN seemed to flop; delegates gathered as at a wake.

The Assembly ended on May 14 in the week the Berlin blockade was lifted. Peacemakers looked respectfully at the soft grey sofa in the Delegates' Lounge where Dr. Philip Jessup of the U.S. first spoke of the new peace to Russia's Jacob Malik.



Daily Worker, London

"Please, teacher, Alfie keeps passing resolutions!"

There were other settlements: in the final week the Assembly in plenary session came to a vote on the admission of Israel. A preview of the vote had been recorded in the Political Committee, but there were surprises. Ethiopia, which had abstained, voted against Israel. South Africa, Bolivia, Luxembourg and France, which had also abstained, voted for Israel.

Pakistan, along with other Moslem states, waited to cast its futile "no." Its delegate Zafrullah Khan, spearhead of the Moslems, answered to the roll call: "Yes." The galleries roared with laughter. He corrected his mistake. The final tally was 37 to 12. Israel was in.

DEATH EXAGGERATED. UN staff members beamed. Israel's borders were conceived in the Assembly's 1947 session; its growth watched by UN commissions. It was clearly a UN baby.

Arabs, though, walked out of the hall when the vote was announced.

Indonesian leaders and the Dutch government were talking to each other again under an agreement reached in Batavia. UN diplomats, uttering warnings about Dutch promises, shelved the question until September.

On Friday, as the session neared its

(Continued on follow[illegible])

(Continued from preceding page)

end, the diplomats were still debating the disposition of Italy's former colonies the treatment of Indians in South Africa, and the touchy question of Spain. (See Hitschmann, p. 6.)

BRITAIN

Which way Britain?

DURING four years in power Britain's Labor government has made a slow and cautious assault on "the heart of capitalism." It nationalized coal, electricity, airlines, railroads, gas and the Bank of England.

Party leaders knew all along that capitalism's heart was steel. In the big Commons debate last fall, Tories raged in vain against nationalization of that industry. U.S. big business took a hand: ECA administrator Paul G. Hoffman more than hinted that if Britain nationalized, U.S. steel deliveries would stop. Dr. Gallup, who said most Americans were for Dewey, made a poll and found most Britons against nationalization.

Last week the Commons passed a bill authorizing the government to buy up 107 companies costing roughly $1,200,000,000. Present owners would continue to run the mills, employing about 300,000 men. Control would be by a government holding corporation. May 1, 1950, was the date set for taking over, but it might be put off for 18 months. The government may wait to get another nod from the voters at the general election due in the summer of 1950.

WALL ST. vs. JARROW. In Wall St. and Washington nobody rose to paint the bill red and denounce the Labor Party as bolshevik. On neither side of the Atlantic did anyone seem to know whether it really meant Britain was going socialist.

What was certain was that British steel workers would not be long deterred from collective ownership of an industry with so bitter a history in human terms. If the Voice of America haunted Labor Party chiefs from one side as they presented their bill, closer and more insistent were the ghosts of Jarrow and Gateshead, steel towns where before the war 9 out of 10 workers were eating out their hearts in idleness. From those forgotten towns hunger marchers hiked angrily to Westminster then. They would march again if steel remained what Supply Minister G. R. Strauss called it in the debate—"a vast monopoly or cartel, possessing great powers without responsibility over the wellbeing of our people."

Seductive revolution

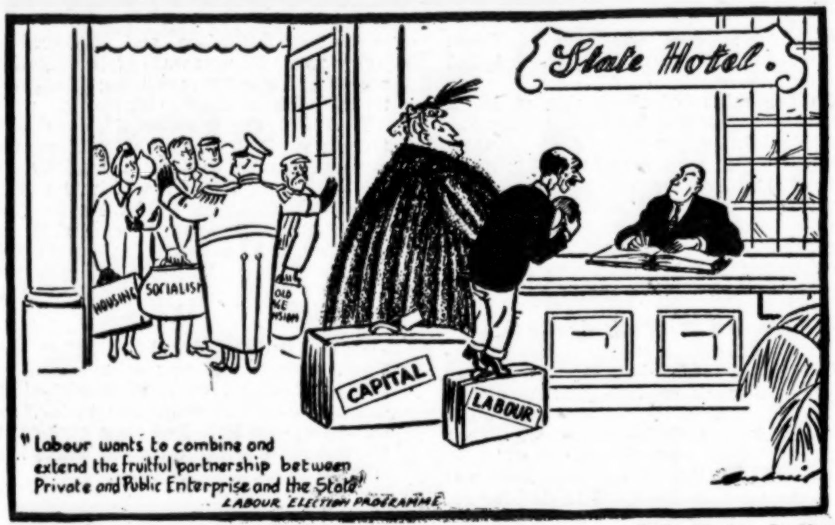
The Labor Party's revolution had a manual. Preparing for the party's Whitsun Conference (on Wednesday, June 5) the National Executive issued a manifesto entitled **Labour Believes in Britain.** It urged Britons to "seek freedom from the enslaving material bonds of capitalism," but said that en route to the new society, private enterprise was to be stimulated and "its fruitful partnership with the state" continued.

The **New Statesman and Nation** called the program "Fabian, reasonable and seductive." But the magazine also wondered:

"Is a mixed economy, 20% Socialist and 80% free enterprise, in which the consumer is to be protected, the capitalist encouraged, the cost of welfare financed by taxation and classless cooperative effort secured, an economic, political or psychological possibility? Perhaps. But only on the assumption that we are not also seeking to maintain colossal armaments—which in terms of 1949, means that the west must reach an accommodation with the U.S.S.R."

The escape.

Lilliput, London.



State Hotel.
HOUSING
SOCIALIS
OLD
CAPITAL
LABOUR
"Labour wants to combine and extend the fruitful partnership between Private and Public Enterprise and the State"
LABOUR ELECTION PROGRAMME

"Double room, please!"

Daily Worker, London

Vote in Commons

In Commons the North Atlantic Pact was ratified by a vote of 333 to 6. The **New York Times** called it "an almost unanimous vote." The Associated Press reported that "only two Communists and four extreme left-wing Laborites were opposed."

What none of the newsmen noted was that there are 640 members in Commons. By simple arithmetic there seemed to be 301 missing MPs. Their absence during so significant a vote was unprecedented and pointed. Still more significant was the evident "gentlemen's agreement" among U.S. publishers to conceal that almost half the MP's stayed away rather than vote for the Pact.

Labor Party leadership clearly had troubles with a rank-and-file that might one day bring it down. It also had troubles at the polls. Following the trend set by last month's city council elections, Conservatives took 536 seats from Labor in municipal elections throughout England and Wales.

Labor Party spokesmen pointed to an ideological victory, though. A pamphlet, prepared for inner-party discussion, said: "The wealthy have been gradually deprived of the immensely satisfying belief that the possession of riches was a sign of favor in the eyes of God. . . . Partly as a result of Labor's efforts, capitalism is being slowly destroyed where it matters most—in the minds of men."

COME TO THE FAIR. Capitalism, seemingly unmindful of where it mattered most, continued to operate energetically. At Earl's Court and Olympia Stadium in London, and at Castle Bromwich in Birmingham, industrialists displayed their wares in Britain's biggest Fair.

Britons flocked to see but were not expected to buy. The show was put on for businessmen from overseas; Fair authorities expected up to 50,000 to drop in. Of these, the ones for whom the bait was out were those bearing dollars.

The Battle of the Gap

Currently the British buy from the U.S. three times what they sell here. At that it's considerably better than it was in 1947 when Britain's Battle of the Dollar Gap began. The improvement is not enough, though, and the dollar shortage daily grows more acute. A thin trickle comes from the sale of scotch whiskey, light automobiles (8,285 in the first half of 1949), woolens, linen, cotton piece goods and tractors.

DOLLAR HUNT. To close the gap between exports and imports two Britons are in U.S. Neville Blond, United Kingdom trade adviser, has swung through the South and Texas and last week was on the West Coast. Sir Graham Cunningham, chosen by 80 British industrialists, came to New York by way of reinforcement.

The two salesmen had a tough assignment. There were already more gadgets, conveniences and luxuries on store shelves than people could afford to buy.

Among the wares they hawked were: an "anniversary watch" which allows the owner to add a diamond link each year "until a bracelet of considerable value is obtained"; a candy made of licorice, sugar, flour and treacle; washable electric blankets; television sets; silent water closets and three-dimensional wall plaques of Stratford-on-Avon.

Business in Poznan

WHILE some British salesmen turned west and some stayed home at their own fair, others took the road to the fair at Poznan, Poland. One such British salesman told GUARDIAN's Gordon Schaffer at Poznan: "I am not interested in politics. I am interested in two things—selling cars and rugby football. If people will keep politics out, there is a fantastic market for us in this country."

Schaffer remarked to a Swiss dealer that the U.S. was holding up sales of ball-bearings that might find their way to Eastern Europe. The Swiss exploded: "Tell that to schoolboys, not to men. We meet the Americans in fair competition but no one is going to dictate to me what I buy and what I sell."

From the Russian zone of Germany came the Kraftwagen car and a new small motorcycle, cameras, microscopes, telescopes and projectors with the venerable label of Zeiss; locomotives and farm tools.

From Russia itself came a pavilion-full of industrial production that Schaffer called staggering. There was no talk of war at Poznan. Business preferred to talk business.

EXPORT
EXPORT
WITH CARE

Lilliput, London

Farm special

The Brannan price plan—just what does it do?

By C. W. Fowler

THE new farm price and income plan put forward by Secretary of Agriculture Charles P. Brannan has thrown the **Journal of Commerce** and the rest of the financial writers into a state of deep shock.

It is, they write in varying tones of anger and despair, sheer socialism, collectivism and worse. Besides, it's expensive.

They would do better to save their breath for denouncing unions and other progressive phenomena. The Brannan plan is not socialism, nor is it likely to be more expensive than the present system. It is simply a scheme for keeping bankruptcy away from the nation's farmers and at the same time giving the consumer a much needed break on prices.

NEW DIRECTIONS. Briefly, the Brannan plan proposes to alter the present support price setup into a system of subsidies to producers, to make up the gap between selling prices and production costs. Prices paid to farmers would find their "natural" level while farm income is maintained.

The scheme is a departure from previous agricultural economics in America, not in other western countries. The British, for example, have used the subsidy system since 1939.

Under price supports, the government bought farm products when market prices fell below the parity figure—set at 90% or less of a farmer's cost of living figured on a complicated ratio of 1909-14 prices.

Price supports, admittedly expensive, neither cut living costs to consumers nor were always effective in holding up farmes' income. When potatoes dropped on the market last year, the government went on buying them at great cost while retail prices stayed up. Finally the government dropped the support price ratio to 60% and the potato grower was left holding the sack.

SANITY DAWNS. Other commodities went well below support prices and very little, if any, benefit came to consumers. Wheat went down and bread stayed up, corn the same.

The new plan has the merit of repudiating the scarcity approach favored by Truman's former Secretary of Agriculture (now Senator) Clinton P. Anderson. Anderson was the man who demanded a cut of millions of acres of wheat in 1945, when the entire world was struggling to prevent mass starvation.

It has the further merit of an announced $25,000 income limit, after which the grower would not receive full support. This figure though set too high, is a recognition of the fact that the small family farmer needs help against his monopoly competitor in the big commercial farm enterprises.

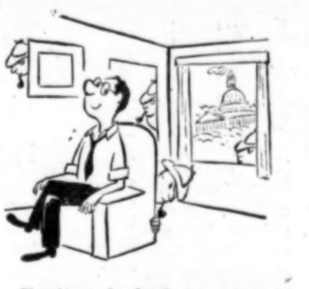
DOUBLE BENEFIT. On its face the new Administration move looks good for farmers and consumers. The progressive Natl. Farmers Union has endorsed it as have a number of other unions.

The farmer's income has fallen 15% in recent months; his cost of living has fallen 2%. Average farm income from all sources is now only $909 a year. Urban income is $1,509. Neither is enough, and if the new plan helps raise both by increasing farm intake and cutting consumer outgo, all that farmers and workers can say is more power to it.

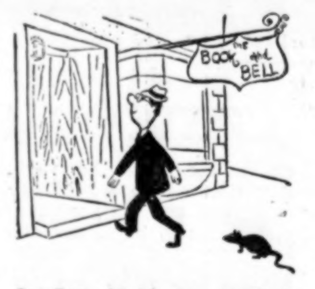
Proof of the new pudding will come when the plan is put into a bill and Administration leaders start working in Congress to deliver it to the farmers. After all, they voted for Truman—in many areas more numerously than the workers did.

Thought control—U.S.

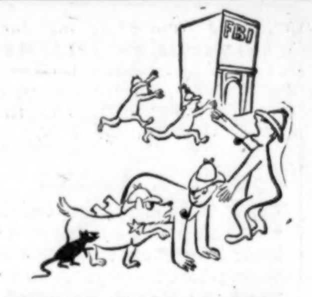
Federal workers stripped of jobs Gestapo style



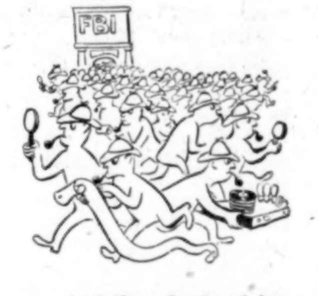
Eustace is just an average Government employee.



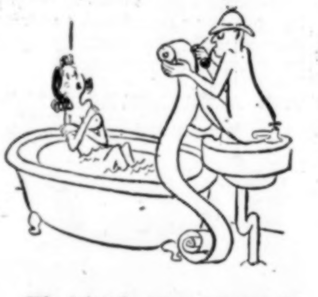
On Jan. 16 he was spotted going into a library. . .



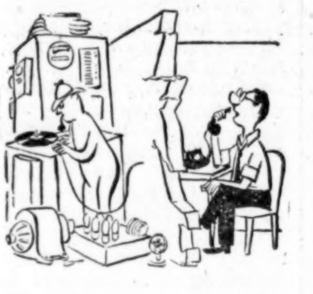
Informed circles set loose a chain reaction . . .



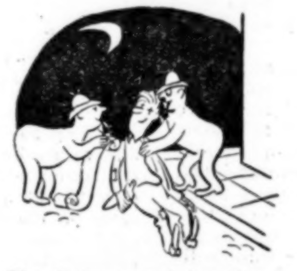
. . . and the wheels of justice went into motion.



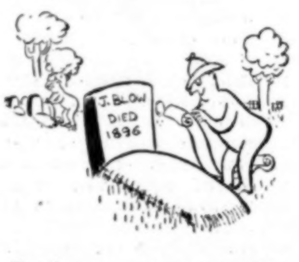
His friends were approached for information.



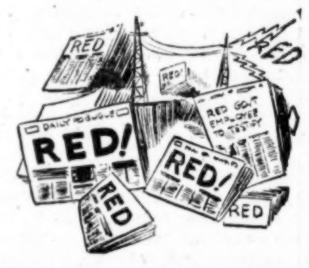
His privacy was insured by discreet wiretapping.



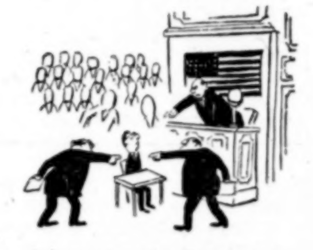
The Government found reputable character witnesses.



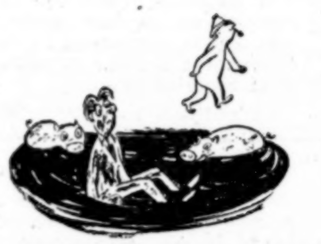
Testimony was double-checked with old friends.


RED
RED
RED!
RED GOV'T EMPLOYEE TO TESTIFY
RED!
RED
RED
RED

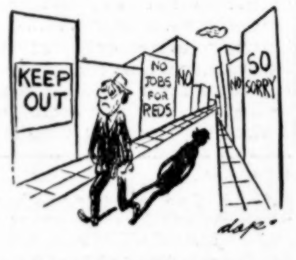
The papers avoided black-and-white accusations.



It turned out Eustace mistook library for saloon.



He was allowed to resign with a clean bill . . .



and to pursue happiness in absolute freedom.

DO you believe in better conditions for labor? Do you thing Negroes should not be segregated? Did you ever discuss current events or take economics or sociology courses? Did you "find it congenial" to belong to the Liberal Club at college? Are you "an extremist about civil liberties"? Are you "in favor of a free Spain?" Do you fail to "become angry when they call you a communist?" Have you read any novels by Howard Fast, or listened to music by Hanns Eisler?

If so you are suspect of disloyalty to your country. You would find it difficult, probably impossible, to get or hold a job in the federal government.

These are just a few of the questions taken from official transcripts of Loyalty Board hearings, in cases of federal employees brought up on charges under the President's Loyalty Order.

The United Public Workers (CIO) has completed a three-month investigation of 100 loyalty cases. Here are excerpts from three hearings included in their report.

Miss A

A career employe with a responsible government job. Not nformed as to the basis of the disloyalty charge. No evidence produced at the hearing.

Q: What kind of books did you buy?

A: At that time I was reading **Main Currents in American Thought** by Parrington, and I was trying to make a collection of books mentioned therein.

Q: You didn't have any interest in it (Washington Book Shop), for the reason that unsegregated meetings were conducted there?

A: I hadn't realized that. As a matter of fact, it was not the only place in Washington where unsegregated meetings were held.

Q: Would you mind explaining to us what you mean by democracy? Are you talking about the democracy we think about here in the United States or as the Russians think about it—or what do you think about it?

A: I don't know what the Russians think about it.

Q: What do you think democracy is?

A: There are a million different definitions.

Q: I am only interested in your idea.

A: . . . The people have the right to say what is going on, to elect their representatives, and to get rid of their representatives if they don't like them.

Q: In other words, you are in favor of free elections.

A: I am in favor of free elections.

Mr. B

A highly paid professional employee with 15 years' government service. Given an official statement of charges based on FBI reports, which read in part:

"That the informant was present when the employee was engaged in a conversation with other individuals at which time the employee advocated the Communist Party line, such as favoring peace and civil liberties when those subjects were being advocated by the Communist Party.

"Another informant . . . reportedly advised that while informant didn't have any concrete specific pertinent information reflecting adversely on the employee's loyalty, informant is of the opinion that employee's convictions concerning equal rights for all races and classes extend slightly beyond the normal feelings of the average individual, and for this reason informant would be reluctant to vouch for the employee's loyalty."

During Mr. B's hearing, his attorney objected to questions involving union activities.

Board Chairman: The question here pertains to Mr. B's activities. . . . I don't believe that we could get any phase of Mr. B's activities that would give us a better insight as to his philosophy other than union activities.

Mr. B's Attorney: If you are going to try him on the basis of union activities, then the whole business of having a subversive list and having standards doesn't mean anything.

Chairman: We don't agree with you.

Mr. C

A Negro hospital attendant, chairman of his local union. "Tried" before an all-white Loyalty Board in the South.

Loyalty Board Member: Well, I might say this. As I understand it, Mr. C is before this Board like an accused person would be before a jury in a criminal case.

Mr. C's attorney: The veterans' hospital is not an atom bomb plant. . . . This employee is not dealing with secrets. He is dealing with mops, pails, bed pans, linens, dressings, etc. I submit there cannot be any possible security consideration for not letting the employee know the basis of the charges and at least the nature of the evidence against him. I would like to ask why don't you bring in the FBI agent to testify as to what he knows.

Board member: Because we are not required to do so.

Q: I understand you fought for repeal of Executive Order 9835, which is the order under which the Loyalty Board is proceeding. Why did you want that repealed?

Mr. C explained that his opposition to the Loyalty Order was an expression of the views of the entire union membership.

Q: Are you opposed to the government getting rid of disloyal people?

A: No, I am not opposed.

Q: Then why did you want 9835 repealed?

A: Because we felt that when a Negro started fighting against discrimination this order would be brought against him.

Q: *(Interrupting)* . . . It appears to me that while you are criticizing the Loyalty Board proceedings that you are overlooking what might have happened in Russia where the Communist Party takes its orders from. Had he been found to be a member of some subversive group in Russia he woudn't be confronted by a Loyalty Board. He would face a firing squad.

Mr. C, a war veteran, with a wife and new born baby, was found guilty and dismissed from his job.

●

As the director of the Civil Liberties Union of Northern California wrote in an affidavit submitted for one accused employee: "The only thing I can't understand is why you should want to work for the federal government. Federal employees may no longer have opinions of their own."

O. John Rogge uncovers

The drive toward fascism

OUR VANISHING CIVIL LIBERTIES. By O. John Rogge. Gaer Associates Inc., N.Y. 287 pp. $3.

THERE is a threat to America, this former Assistant U.S. Attorney General writes. However, it does not come from the Communists—he calls the Red scare a great hoax—but from monopoly and its representatives.

The drift toward fascism in this country is their doing: "We must accept their plans for war, read their books, think their thoughts, accept their legend that what is good for them is good for America. . . . Either they have freedom, or the people have freedom."

With that as his major premise, Rogge presents the evidence in some of the most outspoken language that has yet been written on the subject. He does not shy from even the touchiest subjects.

THE WHOLE RANGE. It is a fighting book and in 21 short, sharp chapters he covers the entire field, from his own dismissal by Attorney General Tom Clark for refusing to be gagged to the current trial of the Communist leaders and the case of the Trenton Six.

Some random quotes will best give the flavor. Summing up the case of the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee members convicted of contempt of the Un-American Activities Committee, he says: "I invite you, and all Americans who cherish their liberties, to join us in this contempt."

The death of Harry D. White of a heart attack following a badgering by that committee he calls plainly and simply: "Murder."

President Truman's Loyalty Order: "A slick, well-oiled frame-up apparatus"; its loyalty "means loyalty to the bi-partisan foreign policy abroad, to segregation and the open shop at home."

The conviction of Harold Christoffel, auto union leader: "Wretched and vindictive persecution."

The trial of the leaders of the Communist Party: "It is not even correct to say that Marxism-Leninism went on trial. What went on trial was the Attorney General's idea of what Marxism-Leninism is. It was like using a Ku Kluxer's conception of the Catholic Church as the foundation of a trial of Catholicism. . . . The very launching of such a trial was a violation of the Bill of Rights."

—Lawrence Emery

Advances in medicine

A new cancer detector

By D. I. Mishkind

MANY cancers are curable if they can be detected in their early stages. Most frustrating aspect of the cancer problem has been the delay in recognition of the disease before it is so fully developed that it's beyond treatment.

The reason for this delay in recognizing early cancer is that its onset is insidious; it does not declare itself by producing symptoms in the earlier stages. Until recently the only method for definite diagnosis of cancer was the recognition of structural changes in the individual cells.

Usually this is done by surgically removing a bit of the suspected tissue (biopsy) and examining the cells microscopically. But, with early cancer, the lesion may be so minute that in removing just a small piece of tissue, the diseased areas might be missed.

NEW DETECTIONS. About three out of every ten women afflicted with cancer have cancer of the womb (uterus). The marked localization for this particular region has stimulated research to detect uterine tumors early enough for treatment. In 1941 D. G. N. Papanicolaou of New York Hospital devised a way to detect cancer of the womb without resorting to biopsy.

The tumor cells of the womb have a tendency to shed, and can be found mixed with the vaginal secretions. What Papanicolaou does is to smear some of the vaginal secretion on to a microscope slide, dye the cells with special stains to bring out cellular structure, and examine them microscopically for the presence of cancer cells.

This vaginal smear method has been and is being used in cancer detection clinics throughout the country and by private physicians.

THE AYER METHOD. More recently Dr. J. Ernest Ayer of McGill University, Montreal, modified the Papanicolaou technique by gently scraping the surface of the womb instead of using the vaginal smear to obtain cellular material for examination. This new technique (surface biopsy) reduces the amount of extraneous material present on the slide and allows for a greater concentration of cells. The technique offers no inconvenience to the patient and can be performed in the course of a regular gynecological examination.

In addition to distinguishing normal findings from those patients with a definite cancer, the surface biopsy allows for easy detection of cells which may forewarn a developing cancer.

If the smear indicates cancer, then a regular biopsy is taken to confirm the findings, after which treatment can be instituted.

98% ACCURATE. These techniques, generally referred to as cytology smears, have been used for several years with excellent results in diagnosing cancer of the womb.

The surface biopsy method has been stated to be 98% accurate. This method is not limited to a study of tumors of the womb. It can be used to examine the possibility of cancer in other accessible organs such as the lip, tongue, skin.

But the microscopic study requires specially trained personnel; don't rely on reports from inexperienced and inadequately trained cytologists.

Recognizing this danger, the State of New York is allocating funds and arranging courses for physicians with qualified backgrounds to study the new techniques.

With more trained cytologists there is every reason to expect that cytology smears for the diagnosis of cancer of the womb will become as frequent and as commonplace as the chest X-ray for tuberculosis and the Wassermann test for syphilis.

Books for progressives

3 new novels: about a girl and the devil

By Ralph Peterson

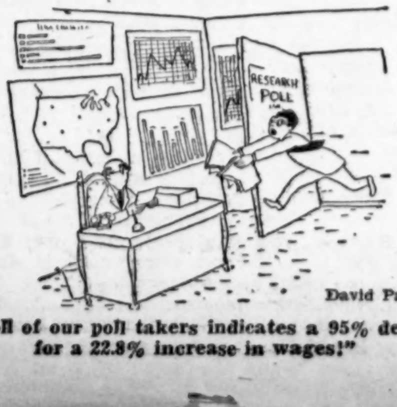
THE GIRL ON THE VIA FLAMINIA. By Alfred Hayes. Harpers, 215 pp. $2.50.

LUCIFER WITH A BOOK. By John Horne Burns. Harpers, 340 pp. $3.50.

TO HELL AND BACK. By Audie Murphy. Holt, 274 pp. $3.

NEW Yorker Alfred Hayes was a poet of widely-recognized promise before World War II, promise most explicit in his study of Manhattan, **The Big Time.** After the war had ground Italy into his consciousness, he wrote a novel called **All Thy Conquests,** still one of the finest books to come out of World War II.

Now, again as novelist, he has written a moving story of an American GI and his Italian paramour, **The Girl on the Via Flaminia**, that in my opinion is the find of 1949. It's a brief book, done smoothly and economically, featuring four unforgettable people: the bitter Italian soldier, Antonio, who finds the Americans worse "conquerors" than the Nazis; an English sergeant who has yearned for wife and fish and chips for six years; the GI, Roberto, who wants a girl who is "other than a [illegible]" and Lisa, the Italian girl—one of the truly memorable heroines of post-war fiction. As a study of the reprehensible American attitudes toward 'foreigners,' **The Girl on the Via Flaminia** is unsurpassed.



David Pascal

A poll of our poll takers indicates a 95% desire for a 22.8% increase in wages!"

ODDS AGAINST PURITY. The Gallery, John Horne Burns' first novel, got from critics in general an adulation this reviewer didn't share. Inversely, most critics find his second book, **Lucifer With a Book,** poor—but I found it far superior to **The Gallery** in almost every respect.

The novel is a serious study of a private American academy, co-educational, in which Burns exhibits a profound understanding of America's teacher problems, a depth of social consciousness absent in **The Gallery,** and a full recognition of the present witch hunt. His protagonists are a grim ex-GI teacher with a shattered mouth, and a highly sexed ex-WAC who retained her purity against odds.

Like Hayes' book, it has a tenderly-illumined love story. But it is as a picture of the private school that **Lucifer** is first-class—incisive and unmistakably authoritative. Burns' pen digs deep into the public-school illusion derived from our English antecedents, and probes up the whole mess to burning daylight. Only occasionally is his frequent satire overdone; usually it rings true, like his description of the academy dining hall—"wellborn young convicts drinking at a common trough."

THE DEAD. Though a first-person narrative and not a novel, Audie Murphy's **To Hell and Back** classes with the best of World War II autobiographical fiction—Mailer, Heym, Kersh, and Plievier. An argument still rages whether America's most-decorated soldier (24 medals in all, including the Congressional Medal of Honor) wrote the book himself. Whether he did or not, it ranks as one of the best reports on combat yet published.

Murphy's disarming modesty makes it impossible to determine from the text when and where he earned his medals. He writes, not about himself, but about his comrades—most of them now dead in that vast misuse of heroism so lately ours.

DOLLAR STRETCHER

Advice on television

By John Norton

"SHOULD I get a television set now, or should I wait?" is a question frequently heard these days. There are many factors to be considered, but the $64 question is whether present sets will become obsolete.

The fear is that present receivers will become obsolete because the FCC may move television into higher frequencies. It would make the shift in order to accommodate more stations and to provide a clearer picture. When this happens, the stations in the lower bands will probably remain on the air and the older sets will be able to receive them. But present sets will not be able to tune in the newer band—except with the addition of a special attachment.

FUTURE HEADACHES. The converter necessary to get the higher band will be available for "moderate sums," the manufacturers say—arounnd $30-50. How much it will actually cost and how well it will work no one can say with certainty, because the FCC hasn't set standards as yet. Meanwhile, say the manufacturers, buy a video set and enjoy it. They want to exploit the lower frequencies first, before developing the higher—and better—band.

Another problem is color. A couple of years ago a big battle raged between CBS, which was experimenting with color, and RCA-NBC, which was ready with black-and-white television. At that time the FCC decided in favor of RCA's system, arguing that tele should get started immediately and not wait to develop color.

Now, according to Sen. Edwin C. Johnson, the FCC has "data and skilled engineering advice in its own files which say that color is ready." Owners of sets now on the market would not be able to get television in color, although with a special device they could watch the color programs in black and white.

HOME BREAKER? Set makers argue that the television situation is similar to that in the early days of the auto, when each year saw a new model with new gadgets. For the consumer that means getting a set he'll eventually have to scrap, trade in or fit with more or less costly attachments.

In England, where radio is government controlled, manufacturers were forced to take back outmoded sets when the system was changed. In the U.S. the consumer will pay.

So, whether you should invest in a tele set depends on your budget. Only you know whether, considering the future hazar tele entertainment is worth the $150-$500 an average-pric job costs. It depends also on where you live, how many statio are in your area.

Another factor to consider ahead of time is the effect o tele set on your home life. If you have no special room for it, the kids will make your living room more uninhabitable than it may be already with radio programs the adults don't care about. If you have a boy who likes ball games and a girl who doesn't you may end up pining to move into a nice quiet zoo.

FM tuner kit

AS alert consumers know, auxiliary tuners which can be attached to a standard AM radio to bring in FM broadcasts have been available in stores for some time for $22.50 to $29.50. But if you can follow a blueprint, you can now get a complete kit for assembling an FW tuner in several hours, for $14.39. Lafayette-Concord, mail-order radio supply firm, 100 Sixth Av., New York, sells it.

The new films

Reviewed by

Harold Salemson

MR. BELVEDERE GOES TO COLLEGE: This sequel doesn't have quite the freshness of **Sitting Pretty**, but the Clifton Webb charm comes through the fairly silly story, to make it very acceptable entertainment. Shirley Temple and John Agar are in it, too.

THE CITY ACROSS THE RIVER: Here is another one of those examples of a story that's too hot for the movies to handle. **The Amboy Dukes** was a startling, if superficial, book about juvenile delinquency in Brooklyn. Cleaned up, as a film, it becomes rather meaningless, despite Drew Pearson's earnest presentation. We rate it acceptable, for its good intentions, but inadequate writing and direction, added to censorship hobbles, keep it from being really good.

MY DREAM IS YOURS: Alleged story of a radio singer's career, with Doris Day and a big cast. Nothing like the truth and not too much of a story. Strictly for time-killing.

PROFESSOR, MY SON (Italian): Acceptable drama, serving as a vehicle for Aldo Fabrizzi **(Open City, To Live In Peace)**, with much to recommend it, but not enough unity to make it a must.

THE LIFE OF RILEY: If you're a Riley fan on the radio, you may possibly enjoy this; but it's really a pretty low type of comedy and not especially well done. William Bendix stars.

BEST BETS (previously noted): **The Champion, Hamlet, T Last Stop** (Polish), **Outcry** (Italian), **Wizard of Oz** (reissue), **Pygmalion** (reissue), **The Snake Pit.**

ALSO ACCEPTABLE: The Set-Up, A Kiss In The Dark, The Red Pony, Little Women, Yellow Sky.

cago dateline

More publisher-clerks unearthed

By Rod Holmgren

CHICAGO

FOUR more Illinois editors and publishers, including two from the Chicago area, have been added to the list of 33 newspapermen who were on the state payroll during Gov. Dwight Green's late regime.

Fred Fulle of Des Plaines, publisher of the **Suburban Times** and Republican committeeman for Maine Township, was on the Highway Division general office payroll as a "field investigator" and later became a "clerk" in the state auditor's office. He collected $23,326 in five years. Fulle told a **Chicago Daily News** reporter he took the job in the highway division "to help him [Green] out."

Raymond J. Peacock, Republican committeeman in Chicago's 39th ward, publishes a string of community papers on the north and northwest side. He was listed on the Revenue Department payroll as an "executive" for six years for $31,884.58.

WHAT MAKES NEWS. The **Milwaukee (Wisc.) Journal** and the **Washington (D. C.) Post** have printed editorials about the Illinois newspapermen, with the word "shocking" in lead paragraphs of both. cept for the **Chicago Daily News** and the **St. Louis Post-Dispatch,** whose reporters dug up the original story, no other Illinois newspaper has mentioned the story.

Upcoming

Housing Action Conference, May 21, Roosevelt College, sponsored by Public Housing Assn. and 12 civic, religious and cultural groups.

The **Chicago Sun-Times** this week concluded a series of articles revealing that the Green administration bought a total of 1,952 passenger cars—mostly Buicks with white sidewalls—for the use of state officials.

The **Sun-Times** said many cars were used by state officials and their families for personal affairs, with taxpayers footing the bill for gas, oil and repairs. "One car was wrecked by the 14-year-old son of a state official who had been using it to drive to school."

As the **Sun-Times** rounded out its disclosures, the Illinois Senate voted to appropriate $5,700 for a new car for the current Lieutenant-Governor, Sherwood Dixon, a Democrat.

Progressives start early

ILLINOIS Progressives this week adopted an ambitious time-table for their 1950 election campaign:

Beginning next month, all ward, township and downstate organizations will start choosing delegates for a state and Cook County convention, planned for Chicago in September.

At the convention, candidates will be chosen for U.S. Senator, State Treasurer, and many other offices.

To assure a place on the state ballot, petitions will be circulated next fall and winter for 25,000 signatures, including 200 from each of 50 counties.

Progressives in Cook County will circulate a second petition, calling for no fewer than 115,763 and no more than 185,220 names of registered voters.

"In view of the magnitude of the job, unless we start early we will have no campaign," said State Director William H. Miller.

Out-Broyled

WHEN the House Judiciary Committee held its mid-April hearing on the Broyles bills, nearly a thousand anti-Broyles lobbyists journeyed to Springfield to be on hand. Sitting in the House galleries through a long afternoon of bitter debate, the delegates were impressed by the performance of one Rep. James Gray, E. St. Louis Democrat.

He seemed honestly to be trying to defeat the bills in committee, or as a minimum alternative, to have them tabled until the report of the Broyles Commission on its two-year investigation of sedition in Illinois had been presented to the Assembly. Gray lost; the Committee voted out all three bills "for passage."

Sidney Ordower, Progressive Party legislative director for Illinois, this week was thumbing through the lengthy list of bills on which the House has not yet acted. He found two, H.B. 688-89, hitherto unmentioned in the press. "The bills out-Broyle Broyles," said Ordower.

They provide: "No teacher, instructor or professor in any college or university in this state shall advocate in his teaching any political philosophy which is based upon the overthrow of the government of the United States or the State of Illinois by force or violence."

They require that every institution of higher learning in the state establish a "board of competency" by Sept. 30, 1949, to screen faculty members for "incompetence" under this definition Any college or university failing to fire an "incompetent" would face immediate loss of its tax exemption as an educational institution.

The sponsor? James Gray, E. St. Louis Democrat.

The dinner of the week

NEW Yorkers and weekend visitors with a yen for interesting food should go for a $2.50 dinner next Saturday night, May 21, sponsored by the American Council for a Democratic Greece in the Yugoslav-American Home, 405 W. 41 St.

Expert Greek cooks will shop for and prepare a genuine Greek dinner, from **yoghourti** soup to **cucunaria** (nuts). Entertainment will include Greek poetry, choral singing and folk dancing. CIO-FTA president Donald Henderson will report on a conference on Greece held during the Paris Peace Congress. Reservations are available at the Council, 152 W. 42 St. Tel. WIsconsin 7-6744.

Wilson talks

WHEN the CIO Packinghouse Workers struck against Wilson & Co. last year, the firm announced that it no longer considered the union collective bargaining representative for its employees. The end of the strike brought no change in this position. For nearly a year, there has been no union contract for Wilson employees.

The NLRB conducted representation elections at all seven Wilson plants in March. United Packinghouse Workers of America (CIO) won all seven.

The Board last week issued an unfair labor practices complaint under terms of the Taft-Hartley Act against the company, based on the union's charge that the firm had arbitrarily canceled its agreement last June. Hearings on the complaint are scheduled for June 14 in Chicago.

This week, UPWA President Ralph Helstein opened negotiations with Wilson executives. The big issue: whether the company would agree to a master contract, or continue to insist on separate plant-by-plant agreements.

Ralph Helstein

Report to Readers

The flowers that bloom in the Spring, tra la

MERRY is indeed the word for this May, for us at the GUARDIAN office. Our "One Buck for Honest News" campaign seems to have had the effect of a Spring rain.

Our perennials (which is simply a seasonal metaphor for the Old Reliables among our subscribers) are blossoming afresh with whole bouquets of new readers.

A young woman of our acquaintance in Delaware sent in 64, spread over five states. A midtown New Yorker sent in 32, with a footnote promising that if 50% of his folks renew their subscriptions after ten weeks, he'll send in another list.

Literally dozens of old GUARDIAN boosters have responded with lists of 10 or 20 new readers each.

THE GUARDIAN's one-man subscription department and news bureau in Bay City, Mich., John J. O'Neil (who once gave up cigars to send the GUARDIAN $1 a week), turned in a verbal bouquet along with his weekly bunch of new readers.

"Your recent hatchet job on prices convinces me," he says, "that either we Americans are reaching for the stars again, or you are another Merlin the Magician."

Bay City, he reports, is "a helluva territory": there were 100 Wallace votes in his bailiwick but now he can only find about 15 who admit it.

"We should have some secret symbol, like the fish of the ancient Christians," he suggests. "How about a ram's head—we have plenty of stone walls to work on."

Bill Livant, another Old Reliable, says the new price surely helps the job of introducing the GUARDIAN to friends "now that a dollar can be spread around a bit." And he wants to know how many readers the GUARDIAN would need to sell at a penny.

The answer is about 500,000—which we could have in a jiffy if every present GUARDIAN reader would undertake to send us a dozen new readers immediately.

At the present introductory rate, this would cost $3, which you can surely get back by following the buying tips in our Dollar Stretcher column. As for the names, you can just copy them down off your Christmas card list.

FROM Minneapolis another old founding friend of ours now sends us a $5 bill and the names of "20 progressives who aren't getting the paper and who should." He promises to send four more names next month "and regularly after that as long as you can stand it."

"Now get others to do the same," he writes, "and we'll get somewhere!"

Out in Denver we are getting somewhere, but we don't know exactly where. We have a bus driver pal out there who reads his GUARDIAN at home each week, then places it on a seat in his bus the next morning.

"Looking at the end of the line," he writes, "I note that someone has always taken it along with them."

And last, but not least, we have an anonymous rooter who announces that he (or she) has undertaken to start a GUARDIAN chain letter. Officially, as upstanding citizens, we must frown on such practices. However, what's done is done—and we're interviewing emergency hands for our subscription department, just in case.

Yours for a million GUARDIAN readers. **J. T. M.**

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"One buck for honest news"

W. E. B. Du Bois

'None who saw Paris will ever forget'

I HAVE attended the greatest meeting of men ever assembled in modern times to advance the progress of all men. The Races Congress of 1911 in London was comparable but quickly forgotten. The first meeting of the League of Nations Assembly in that little Geneva church raised hopes of universal significance. The UNO at San Francisco, after a Second World War, lifted the hearts of men, until the long drawn-out horse-trading on trusteeships revealed the determination to hold in serfdom the majority of mankind.

The Paris outpouring for Peace was extraordinary not simply because it brought together 2,000 delegates from 60 lands; not only because of the single-hearted earnestness and deep determination which kept them fastened to their seats for five full days.

In Paris the colored world was present; not simply on sufferance; not with the appalling Anglo-Saxon condescension; but as members of a world movement in full right and with full participation. For two days I sat on the presidential tribune representing the United States. I looked out across the sea of faces hour after hour and saw seven Haitians; 27 from India; two from Indonesia; 12 from Madagascar; four from Morocco; three from Mongolia; five from Puerto Rico; 18 from Tunis; 60 from Viet-Nam and 18 from French Black Africa.

BLACK MEN. And these colored folk took part. At two sessions black men presided; one of the best speeches was delivered on Thursday by Gabriel d'Arboussier, Vice-President of the African Democratic Rally, for whom the audience rose to applaud; Paul Robeson appeared unannounced and was given a tumultuous ovation; Madame Thai Thi Lien spoke for Viet-Nam with long applause. On the World Committee elected by the Congress was a black African vice-chairman and among the 140 members, 13 were colored.

To all this should be added the colored contingent at the Prague Congress, those delegates refused visas to enter France. Foremost among these were the 40 delegates from China and eight from Korea.

The Manifesto of the World Congress faced definitely the colonial and color questions: "We are against colonialism, which continually breeds armed conflicts and threatens to play a decisive part in unleashing a new World War. We condemn . . . the fostering of race hatred and enmity among peoples."

FOR GOD'S SAKE, PEACE. But it was no mere matter of race and color. It was the suffering of a crucified world made visible.

I saw that tall white-haired Russian woman, Mrs. Kosmodemyanskaya, with a face like the mother of Jesus, stand and tell how her 18-year-old daughter went to war to defend American "democracy"; how she was stripped by the Nazis and driven naked into the winter, beaten with straps and hanged, yet never betrayed her comrades.

A few nights later, in the home of a woman deputy of the French Parliament, I sat beside a beautiful young woman, almost youthful save for tired lines that dimly crossed her face. I looked down and on her wrist saw the concentration camp numbers burned into her flesh. She said simply: "I lost my mother and father; my brother and—my husband."

In the Congress and out, I saw the crippled and maimed—one soldier with no legs talked to us. I visioned the poverty, the hurt, the misery of a world, crying for God's sake let us at least have Peace, to heal our wounds. I sensed the bitter hatred toward an America determined to make money out of the world's misery.

THE LIES FADE. Above all this looms in my memory that spectacle of Sunday, April 24, when from all France and half of the world, 100,000 persons crowded and filed into the Buffalo stadium; filed out to let another 100,000 in.

I never before saw a hundred thousand human beings. And they were not strutting and showing off as Americans do on Fifth Avenue. They were walking and hobbling and falling in faintness and crying, Peace! Peace!

It was unforgettable. No lying, distortion and twisting of our prostituted press can conceal or erase the heartbreaking significance of this spectacle. None who saw it will ever forget.

Stanley Karnow: Inside Franco Spain

Continued from page one

When Franco first sent his team out to bat for U. S. aid last fall, Foreign Minister Alberto Martin Artajo invited a gang of newspaper correspondents over to his place and in stag-party language suggested that the U. S. just forget about Spain's government and hand over the money.

"After all, you don't worry about your wife's virginity after ten years of marriage," he giggled, and went on to say that Spain had served its "anti-communist apprenticeship during the Civil War" and was just ripe to joint the Western bloc against Russia.

BRIGHT SENATOR. At the same time, Senator Chan Gurney, then chairman of the Senate Armed Forces Committee, buzzed into Madrid accompanied by two generals and an admiral, and went home "tremendously impressed by Franco's pride in the Spanish people and military power of Spain."

On the verge of bankruptcy, Spain is a military liability. Its communications make Mississippi look like the nerve-center of the world; it has about seven "highways," no wider and in worse shape than back-country roads in the U. S. As for the Pyrenees, they stopped neither Hannibal nor Napoleon and would hardly even slow up a modern army.

More important is the political side. About 75% of the Spanish people are actively or passively against Franco. Bringing Spain into the western "family" might be futile against the "Soviet invasion," but as one former Loyalist fighter said to me: "It would entrench Franco for another 20 years."

The Generalissimo with a beloved friend

HE'S OUR BOY. The Spanish people have looked to the U. S. to help free them. In 1942, when U. S. troops invaded North Africa, the people of Malaga rose in anticipation and the city was Republican ground for 48 hours.

"Even in 1946," a Spanish doctor told me, "if Truman had telephoned Franco to get on the first plane to Buenos Aires, the Caudillo would have packed up and left without a peep of protest. But the U. S. wants Spain as a force against communism; the result of that is that the Communist Party inside Spain is bigger today than ever, and the people look toward the U.S.S.R., not the U.S., to help them win freedom."

The doctor sat back, then jumped up and added quickly: "I'm not a Communist, you know—you can believe **me**."

"Better than KKK"

Here in Burgos, during the nightmarishly magnificent processions which celebrate Holy Easter Week, women were prostrating themselves before the priests and hooded penitents who paraded through the streets carrying torches and bearing crosses in imitation of Christ.

Cackled a rish Spanish lady: "They're better than your Ku Klux Klan, eh?'

As long files of masked marchers assembled slowly in the square before the cathedral, the local Bishop took the microphone. For almost two hours he shouted at the hordes of women to humble themselves and beg pardon for their sins, while the **Guardia Civil**—the Spanish Gestapo—stood nonchalantly by, pushing a hysterical widow back into place or cutting off a worshiper's attempt to kiss the hem of a plaster Madonna's glittering skirt.

"That's how fascism is morally explained," a Spaniard said later, commenting on the Bishop's wild harangues. "The Church's mission is to keep the people in fear of change. Those poor women actually think it's mortal sin to oppose Franco."

THEY AGREE. In a country of 28,000,000, Franco is held in power by the support of four groups—the army, the police, the fascist Falange party, and the Catholic Church.

By far the smallest and strongest of these groups is the Church. It is a Church militant, absolute, totalitarian, dominating every part of Spanish life. Franco policy is not dictated or advised by Catholic doctrine; it is Catholic doctrine.

There is never any disagreement between Church and State simply because they are one and the same thing. The Primate of Spain, Cardinal Pla y Deniel, is Franco-appointed, and his voice filters through every government pronunciamento.

Yet the largest segment of the Catholic hierarchy in Spain is, in its shrewd business way, not fanatically pro-Franco. It accepts and supports the Caudillo at the moment because he is the most convenient and expedient tool on hand. But these seasoned Church diplomats realize that the dictator's foundations are planted in nothing; they want to be well out of the way when and if the shaky fascist structure topples over.

MORE PIOUS THAN PIUS. The Spanish Church is what you might describe as ultra-Papist, which is to say that it is more reactionary than the Pope himself.

When the Vatican decided recently, for instance, that salvation could be found elsewhere than in the Catholic realm, Spanish religiosos were shocked out of their cassocks and did not hesitate to shower the pontiff with protests.

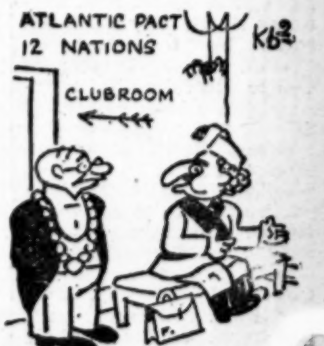
For in Spain there is no salvation elsewhere. "Spain is a complete Catholic unity," a Congress of Bishops announced proudly at Toledo last summer. "The number of Spaniards who do not profess the Catholic faith and those who follow other religions is so insignificant that there is no point in even regarding them as members of the social community."

Therefore, only Church marriages are legal in Spain, and divorce is non-existent. Persons married when the Republican justices of the peace were still doing business before 1939 are now considered "living in sin," and their children are denied the rights of legitimacy.

HERETICS. Spain's 20,000 Protestants are forbidden to worship freely and any non-Catholic observance, except for foreigners, is illegal.

Last October an American clergyman, Dr. Stanley Stuber, chairman of a Baptist World Alliance committee on religious freedom, got so enraged about conditions in Spain he sent a special delegate to Franco to remind him that the Spanish constitution guarantees liberty of worship. Naturally, nothing came of it.

NEXT WEEK: Finery, Famine & Fakery in Madrid.



Canard Enchaine.

"It isn't so much that they [illegible] like my face, but the gentlemen don't like being 13 at the table!"